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## 25 killed in Jerusalem, Ashkelon attacks

### 84 wounded in Hamas suicide bombings

BILL HUTMAN and RAINE MARCUS

HAMAS claimed responsibility for the suicide bombing of an Egged bus near Jerusalem's central bus station yesterday that left 24 people dead and more than 50 wounded, and for the blast at the Ashkelon junction in which one was killed and 34 people were wounded.

Last night, 55 people were still hospitalized, 19 in serious or critical condition.

Police Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz said Hamas apparently coordinated the two suicide attacks.

The bombs used in the two attacks were also very similar. "All indications are that the same hand was involved in putting together both bombs," said Dep.-Cmdr. Arik, head of national bomb squad.

Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal said the suicide bombers disguised as Israelis.

"He was dressed like an Israeli youngster, with the same kind of haircut and an earring," Shahal told Reuters about the Ashkelon bomber. "He looked like any teenager from Israel. People probably thought that he looked like someone who was waiting for a ride."

He said the Jerusalem bomber hid his bomb in an army kitbag and wore a disguise. "The fact is that no one noticed anything suspicious about him," he said.

The Palestinian Police began rounding up suspected supporters of Izzadin Kassam, the armed wing of Hamas, in the pro-Hamas Sheikh Radwan neighborhood of Gaza City last night.

Local sources said Preventive Security Service agents went from house to house and were seen taking away people in jeeps. Hamas sources reported 25 were arrested yesterday before the roundup.

At about 6:45 a.m., between 10 and 20 kilograms of TNT ripped apart a No. 18 bus just meters from the intersection of Jaffa Road and Rehov Sarai Yis-

rael. A No. 36 bus behind it was damaged, as were five vehicles also stopped at the traffic light.

"I heard the explosion, looked up, and saw what looked like a body flying through the air," said Yitzhak Reuven, an Egged ticket-checker who was standing across the intersection.

"People were calling out, 'Help me, help me,' and 'I'm burning.' There were bodies and parts of bodies all over the place," Reuven said.

Jerusalem police chief Arye Amit said a suicide bomber somewhere in the middle of the bus apparently set off the explosion. The roof was blown off, and the bus was completely gutted. Only two rows of seats in the back remained intact.

Forty-five minutes later, another suicide bomber detonated a similar, but smaller bomb at a packed hitchhiking post outside Ashkelon. Two people - one believed to be the terrorist - were killed and 34 wounded.

By late afternoon, nine bodies from the Jerusalem blast were still not identified. Police believed the terrorist bomber was among them. The bodies were taken to the National Forensics Institute at Abu Kabir.

Police sources said the initial investigation provided no leads to the terrorist's identity or where he got on the bus. Hamas distributed a pamphlet claiming both bombers were from the village of El-Arub, near Hebron.

A Palestinian source, however, said one of the bombers apparently came from El-Arub, and the second from the Jabalya refugee camp in Gaza.

"The meaning of this attack is that the battlefield has been brought to Jerusalem," said Mayor Ehud Olmert. "Jerusalem is the new main target, and must receive the most attention from the security forces."

Olmert called on both the government and opposition not to try to use the attack for political gain. He also called on residents to show restraint in venting their anger.

(Continued on Page 2)



The body of one of 24 people killed in yesterday's bomb blast in Jerusalem lies near the remains of the No. 18 bus. (Brian Hender)

### The dead

THE majority of the 24 people killed in yesterday's Jerusalem bus bombing - a figure that includes the bomber - were from the capital. By press time, 16, including two US citizens, had been identified.

Sgt. Yonatao Barnea, 20; St.-Sgt. Gavriel Krauss, 24, St.-Sgt. Gadi Shiloni, 22, Cpl. Moshe Reuven, 19; St.-Sgt. Maj. (res.) Arye Barashi, 39; Cpl. Iliya Nimotin, 19, Cpl. Merav Nahum, 19; and Sgt. Sharon Hnuka, 19, were all from Jerusalem, as was Arik Gaby, 16, who was attending a pre-army boarding school.

Other victims included Americans Matthew Eisenfeld, 25, and Sara Duker.

Daniel Biton, 42; Yitzhak Elbaz, 57; Boris Shapolsky, 64; Simeon Trakasvili, 64; and Yitzhak Yachnis, 54, of the capital, were also killed, as was Navon Shabo, 22, of Bnei Brak, who had been on his way to work in Tel Aviv.

Sgt. Hoft Ayyash, 20, of Ashdod was killed in the bombing at the Ashkelon junction.

Several of the victims were buried yesterday. Gaby, from the capital's Katamon district, was buried in the military cemetery at Mt. Herzl yesterday afternoon.

Reuven was also buried at Mt. Herzl yesterday evening. He had been serving in the civil administration and was on his way to his base in Beit El. He is survived by his parents, a brother and a sister.

Hundreds of friends and relatives attended Nahum's funeral at Mt. Herzl yesterday. Nahum, who is survived by her parents and younger sister, began her army service three months ago.

Shabo was buried in the Hayaron Cemetery last night. He studied printing and was a counselor in the Bnei Akiva movement.

Barnea, the son of Yediot Aharon columnist and veteran journalist Nahum Barnea, is to be buried this afternoon at 3 p.m. at Mt. Herzl.

Nimotin was born in Leningrad and immigrated in 1991. He is to be buried this morning at Mt. Herzl at 10. (Itin)

### Security officials not surprised by attacks, stunned by daring Gillon: Terrorists have advanced a step

STEVE RODAN

SECURITY officials said they were not surprised by the attacks, but were stunned by the terrorist's daring and their ability to carry out simultaneous attacks.

"They have advanced another step," said Karni Gillon, former head of the General Security Service.

Gillon told Channel 1 that the number of terror attacks has dropped by 70% since Yasser Arafat's arrival in Gaza, and that since April 1995, Arafat has done substantially more, foiling several terror attacks. He cited cooperation between Israel and the PA security apparatus as a positive

factor, while admitting that Israel's own intelligence network has been hurt following the IDF's pullout from population centers in the territories.

At the same time, he echoed the assessment of Brig.-Gen. Ya'acov Amidror, deputy chief of IDF intelligence, who told the cabinet yesterday that Arafat has yet to "root out the terrorist infrastructure."

The infrastructure is critical, as it takes many people to perform a variety of tasks before a suicide bomber blows himself up, Gillon said.

The question, officials said, is whether Hamas regards the bombings as a settling of scores for the assassination of Yibye Ayyash or whether the success would prompt a wave of attacks.

Security officials had expected Hamas to retaliate for the assassination of Ayyash in January, despite a PA pledge to prevent terrorism. Israel imposed a closure on the territories for most of the past seven weeks to prevent the attacks promised by Hamas and Islamic Jihad.

But as time went on, security sources said, political pressure to lift the closure increased. Officials dealing with the Palestinians warned of heightened tensions unless Arab laborers were allowed to work.

Security officials were embarrassed by the insistence of government leaders that they recommend the lifting of the closure last Friday, a move that some sources

maintain resulted in the decision by Hamas to send in the suicide bombers. Some officials, particularly in the police and GSS, asserted that they consistently opposed lifting the closure, but their influence is limited.

The assessment of security sources is that the suicide bombers were probably ordered to attack at a suitable site closest to the Green Line, to avoid delay and possible detection. Hamas agents were said to have prepared the bombs and funding for the operation weeks ago, but waited for the recruitment of the suicide attackers as well as the right date - the second anniversary of Machpela massacre.

Some security officials said that the seven-month lull in suicide bombings represented more of a Hamas decision to lower its profile rather than the ability of the authorities to eliminate the terrorist network. They acknowledged that despite the PA's success in foiling several suicide bombers, Palestinian forces have left Hamas's military organization intact.

This includes the support system to recruit suicide bombers and other attackers, and the money to pay them and their families and to obtain the guns and explosives needed.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres acknowledged that at the urging of the GSS, he asked PA President Yasser Arafat to arrest a list of suspected Hamas terrorist leaders, including followers of Ayyash, who were planning a new outrage. Arafat, the security sources said, did nothing.

### Closure placed on territories

DAVID MAKOVSKY and ON LEVY

PRIME Minister Shimon Peres and top security officials leaned heavily last night in favor of imposing a "prolonged closure" throughout the territories after yesterday's bombings, according to senior officials.

Security sources believe the territories will be sealed for at least a week.

On Saturday night, the General Security Service recommended that the closure, which had been lifted on Friday, be renewed. However, the IDF was opposed to such a move, and Peres decided to accept its recommendation.

Senior military sources emphasized that the decision to lift the closure was made despite the warnings of a planned terror attack, because of the economic straits of most of the residents of the territories.

Among those who met with Peres yesterday were Chief of General Staff Lt.-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak, GSS head Ami Ayalon, Police Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz, Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal, and Peres's military aide Maj.-Gen. Danny Yatom.

Peres also met with Foreign Minister Ehud Barak and Interior Minister Haim Ramon. The three discussed the electoral implications of the attack and how it would impact upon Labor's message to the public.

All three noted the restraint of the Likud in the aftermath of the attack and said it reflected putting the national good ahead of partisan interest.



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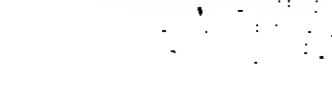
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# Barak to urge donor countries to pressure Arafat

DAVID MAKOVSKY

FOREIGN Minister Ehud Barak will convene a meeting this afternoon of 30 ambassadors of countries which donate funds to the Palestinian Authority and urge them to press PA leader Yasser Arafat to do more against terror, diplomatic sources say.

The sources deny that Barak will explicitly tell the envoys to withhold funding from the PA if it does not take tougher steps against Hamas and the Islamic Jihad. However, the gathering of such a meeting suggests there may be a call for an implicit threat. "Barak will call for pressure on Arafat in going after individuals whom we have already made known to him as involved in terrorism," a source said.

Recently, Peres and OC Intelligence Maj.-Gen. Moshe Ayalon gave Arafat a list of those Islamic militants suspected of carrying out attacks against Israel, officials say.

Barak is also expected to remind the ambassadors that their countries must insist the PLO Covenant be amended.

There was no confirmation last night that the suicide bombers came from areas under PA control, but Barak and other officials were operating under that assumption.

Arafat has also been quietly pressured to crack down on terrorism. It is believed that in a meeting last week between Foreign Ministry Director-General Uri Savir and Arafat in Gaza, Savir made clear that unless Arafat was tough on terror, the Likud could win the upcoming election.

Prime Minister Shimon Peres refused to say yesterday how long the renewed closure of the territories would last, and said Israel would not veer from the path of peace. Peres called on Arafat to crack down against Hamas and

other Islamic militants in the wake of yesterday's attacks.

When asked at a press conference convened at his office whether Israel would delay redeployment from Hebron scheduled for the end of March, Peres said no new policy decisions have yet been made. "Decisions should be made when we are calmer, and not on a day of a terror attack," he said. Peres said there would be a pause in meetings with the PA until after the funerals.

The prevailing view of ministers at the cabinet yesterday was the closure should continue indefinitely. Barak said there has only been one terrorist attack in the three years since Israel began sealing off the territories for extended periods.

"There is no need to apologize to the Palestinians or compensate them for such a closure due to such a terrible attack," Barak added. He called for linking Arafat's success in cracking down on the Islamic militants to future ties between Israel and the PA.

At a press conference yesterday, IDF Chief of Staff Lt-Gen. Amnon Lipkin-Shahak offered no reason why the closure was lifted on the eve of the second anniversary of the Hebron massacre. During the cabinet meeting, ministers apparently questioned why the closure was lifted before the second anniversary yesterday.

Peres sounded indignant when asked whether the bombing set back his prospects of winning the upcoming election against Likud's Benjamin Netanyahu.

Before the bombing, Peres had a 15-point lead over his rival, but in the past suicide attacks have made at least temporary inroads in Labor's popularity. "That's the last question you should have asked today," he said.



Police, soldiers, medics and Hevra Kadisha members inspect the wreckage of the No. 18 bus destroyed in yesterday's suicide bombing in Jerusalem.

## Clinton administration to press Arafat to take firmer action against terrorism

HILLEL KUTTNER and DAVID MAKOVSKY

THE Clinton administration indicated yesterday it is dissatisfied with Palestinian Authority president Yasser Arafat's efforts to crack down on terrorism from the autonomous areas, and is increasing pressure on him to do so.

Messages and calls of condolences poured into the Prime Minister's Office yesterday, with Arafat being the first to phone.

In public remarks yesterday, Arafat said the attack was an assault against the entire peace process. "This is not a military operation. This is a terrorist operation. I condemn it completely. It is not against only civilians but against the whole peace process. I send my condolences to the families of the victims and to Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres."

In a statement offering condolences to the families of the victims

of the Jerusalem and Ashkelon bus bombings, President Bill Clinton said that such acts "must not only be condemned; they must be brought to an end."

During an earlier telephone call to Arafat, Secretary of State Warren Christopher was "basically making the point that these kinds of actions must cease - full stop," a senior US official said.

"More must be done to stop the infrastructure of these groups...it is the same message we have passed on for the last three years; to stop and dismantle Hamas and the PIJ [Palestinian Islamic Jihad]," the official said.

Christopher also called Peres to express the US's condolences and Clinton was expected to call Peres as well, the official said.

Clinton, in his statement, called the bombings "brutal acts of terror" that "offend the conscience of the world."

"The enemies of peace have once more attempted to turn back progress toward a new Middle East in which Arabs and Israelis may live in peace. But they have not and will not succeed. Their dark vision is of the past, not the present; of violence, not hope for a better future," Clinton said.

"At this tragic moment, the US stands alongside Israel and with all the peacemakers, as together, we continue our work for a comprehensive and lasting settlement for all the peoples of the Middle East."

Speaking to reporters before heading to Britain on a private

visit, Jordan's King Hussein said, "My feeling is one of bitterness and disgust. It's an effort to blow up the peace process and derail it and its victims are innocent people here and there." Both Jordan's Crown Prince Hassan and Prime Minister Karim Abdul Kabriti also contacted Peres and publicly deplored the attack. Kabriti then made a call to Arafat and urged him to do everything possible against terror.

Egypt's President Hosni Mubarak also called Peres, offering his condolences. British Prime Minister John Major cabled Peres, noting that London also suffered terrorism in recent days, but that Israel should not be deterred.

Condolence messages were also sent to Israel from the foreign ministers of France, Netherlands, Norway and Cyprus.

## Weizman calls for national unity at a time of tragedy

BATSHEVA TSUR

PRESIDENT Ezer Weizman yesterday called on the nation's leaders "to maintain national unity...at this time of great tragedy."

"[The terrorists] have tried to torpedo the very basis of our country but they will not succeed because Israel is a strong country that is moving towards an even better future," Weizman said.

He refused to express an opinion on how the terrorist acts could affect the peace process.

Weizman, accompanied by his wife Reuma, visited the wounded in the capital's hospitals yesterday afternoon. Today he is expected to go to Ashkelon to meet with the victims of the blast in the South.

## Arafat playing a subtle game with Hamas

COMMENT

JON IMMANUEL

PALESTINIAN Authority President Yasser Arafat condemned the bombings as "terrorist operations" and sent his condolences to the Israeli people, but is he doing enough to stop terror itself?

Foreign Minister Ehud Barak and former General Security Service head Karmi Gilon said yesterday that Arafat's police have prevented at least five attacks, but he has failed to dismantle the infrastructure of Izzadin Kassam, the armed wing of Hamas.

Arafat admits as much, saying it is too risky, and has tried to reach understandings whereby Hamas, his main political opposition, will handle Izzadin Kassam.

He has been more direct with Islamic Jihad, which has no substantial political wing. Three weeks ago his police shot down two members wanted by Israel for last year's Beit Lid bombing, and

when Israel was presumed responsible for killing Jihad leader Fathi Shikaki in Malta, he did not shed a public tear.

However, with Hamas, the game is more subtle. Arafat claimed he reached a verbal understanding with Hamas which has prevented suicide attacks against Israel since August. Then came the assassination of Yihye Ayyash, the Hamas homemaker. Hamas stopped cooperating and swore revenge. If Arafat's police thwarted Izzadin Kassam attacks, as Israel agrees it did, the police must have been tipped off by Hamas informants. So, when Israel was blamed for killing Ayyash, Arafat's praise of "The Engineer" as a prince of martyrs was simply a damage-control operation.

According to Gilon, speaking on Channel 1 yesterday, Arafat began dealing more forcefully with Izzadin Kassam last April. That was when the Oslo 2 talks emerged from their slump, and then foreign minister Shimon Peres began issuing target dates for their completion.

Since April, there had been only two suicide attacks, one in Ramat Gan which Izzadin Kassam was reluctant to take credit for, and one in Jerusalem which was widely condemned by Palestinians who were normally supportive.

Meanwhile, Arafat built up his authority. The Oslo 2 agreement was completed. Elections loomed and Arafat expected easy victory, which would be sweeter if Hamas ran, too. The trauma of Ayyash's death passed. Hamas was seen to

be an even smaller threat than expected, and Arafat enjoyed a convincing election victory.

Today, Arafat's position is much stronger than it was a year ago. Hamas is torn between Izzadin Kassam and joining the peace talks. Hebron, a bastion of Hamas, is to be evacuated in one month, and Shimon Peres stands for re-election in May. Terror can in no way help Arafat, Hamas, or the peace process.

If the attack was meant as a one-off atrocity to avenge Ayyash, with widespread acceptance by Palestinians, Arafat will probably let it pass as a blow aimed at Israel rather than himself. But if it means Hamas has reneged on its agreement to rein in Izzadin Kassam, he has no good political reason to treat softly with Hamas.

Hamas itself appeared intent to show Arafat it is working with him and not against him in a strange leaflet it issued yesterday. In its own name, Hamas took direct credit for the bombings in the name of "the martyrs of Yihye Ayyash" to mark 50 days since his death.

Izzadin Kassam was not mentioned, but it added, "A just and honorable peace is a high aim for us and if the Israeli government is serious in its peace project, it should announce it will stop terrorism against Hamas and release our prisoners. Then we will reach a historic position and through it we will be careful not to shed a drop of blood on the land of Palestine."

If the leaflet had not come on the heels of the worst atrocity since the Oslo accords, it would almost look as though Hamas is suing for peace.

### SOCIAL & PERSONAL

DEPARTURES

Mrs. Raya Jaglom, Honorary Life President of World Wilza for Copenhagen, to address the 50th anniversary of Wilza Denmark.

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THE WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION  
In deep pain, we mourn for the victims of the outrages in Jerusalem and Ashkelon, and wish the injured a speedy recovery.

**Avraham Burg** Chairman of the Executive  
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Hadassah - The Women's Zionist Organization of America  
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join the people of Israel in mourning for the innocent victims of the tragic terrorist attacks in Jerusalem and Ashkelon.  
Hadassah sends its deepest condolences to the families. May they be comforted among the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem.  
Hadassah prays for the speedy recovery of the wounded.  
Marlene E. Post - President

(Continued from Page 1)  
Many in the crowd of several hundred gathered at the intersection chanted anti-government slogans when, under heavy security, Prime Minister Shimon Peres and Shahal arrived.  
"Peres go home," and "Bibi [Netanyahu] to power," the crowd called out. Mounted policemen were used to keep back the crowd, and even journalists were not allowed close to the ministers. Dozens of policemen

formed a human wall around the ministers cars as they left.  
Herb Keison adds:  
A few hundred people gathered at the site of the attack last night lit memorial candles and torches, and recited psalms. A couple of people unsuccessfully tried to start anti-government and anti-Arab chants.  
Dozens of police were on hand and set up barriers to keep those at the vigil from moving into the street.

## Hefetz: PA must be tougher against terror

BILL HUTMAN

THE Palestinian Authority is not doing enough against the Hamas and Islamic Jihad terror infrastructure in the territories under its control, Police Inspector-General Assaf Hefetz said yesterday.

"This type of terror requires a strong infrastructure," Hefetz told reporters. "It appears that the two attacks were coordinated."

Internal Security Minister Moshe Shahal also told a Jerusalem press conference that the government holds the PA responsible for not cracking down as it should on Hamas and the Islamic Jihad.

"The PA has taken action to prevent terror attacks, we know of specific cases of this in recent weeks," Shahal said. However, he added, it must do much more.

Shahal said police favored an extended closure even before the two bombings.

The bomb used in the Jerusalem attack was similar to that used in previous suicide bombings, said Dep.-Cmdr Arik, head of the police bomb squad. He said the combination of TNT, nails, and other metal objects was used.

"The bombs were relatively simple. When you are dealing with suicide bombers, it doesn't take anything special. It doesn't take an 'Engineer' to make bombs like these," he said, referring to slain Hamas terrorist Yihye Ayyash, believed to be behind many of the bus bombings in recent years.

"The public transportation system is enormous, and there is no way to secure every bus 24 hours a day," Hefetz said.

Jerusalem police chief Cmdr. Arye Amit said that it is impossible to completely prevent attacks, particularly by suicide bombers, but that "the security forces had prevented many."

### CORRECTION

In the article "Direct elections won't end horse-trading" by Susan Hattis Koteff in last Friday's edition, it is inadvertently omitted from the middle part of the article, which should have read: "Under both systems, after the prime minister forms his government he must obtain the confidence of at least 61 Knesset members. Under the new law, 61 Knesset members can later bring down the government by voting in favor of a motion of no-confidence. This is an improvement on the current situation where a government can be brought down by a majority of those voting."

hevinisa

## 2 American victims came to study for a year

MARILYN HENRY  
NEW YORK

MATTHEW Eisenfeld was a rabbinical student and an a cappella singer. His fiancée, Sara Duker, had a passion for the environment and a penchant for purple sneakers.

The two, studying in Israel this year, were the Americans killed in yesterday's terror attack in Jerusalem.

In a statement issued from his home in West Hartford, Connecticut, Eisenfeld's family said they hoped the peace process would succeed.

Eisenfeld was a second-year rabbinical student at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York and was spending a year at the seminary's Jerusalem campus.

"Matt's dream was to go to a town where there were Jews but not a strong Jewish community and help them," said Joshua Cahen, Eisenfeld's friend from Yale.

Eisenfeld helped found Magevet, a group of Jewish a cappella singers at Yale, in 1993, his senior year. "He wanted to sing and make beautiful music," said Cahen, a member of Magevet. "He thought it was so neat to give expression to his feelings of love of Judaism."

At Yale, Eisenfeld majored in religious studies and wrote his senior thesis on the philosophy of Rabbi Abraham Joshua Heschel and J.B. Soloveitchik. "Their ideas moved him," Cahen said.

Yesterday, he recalled a party his friend once gave. "We were dancing and singing and being silly and listening to Pete Seeger. Then we suddenly sat down, he looked me right in the eye and he said, 'I want to talk to you about Heschel.'"

"It struck me that he cared so much about it, and he trusted me to have an insight about it," Cahen said.

Between graduation from Yale and beginning rabbinical school, Eisenfeld spent a year on Efrat, studying with Rabbi Shlomo Riskin, Cahen said.

Duker, of Teaneck, New Jersey, was working this year as a research technician in microbiology at Hebrew University. She graduated from Barnard College of Columbia University last year and planned to do graduate work in environmental studies, said Rabbi Kenneth Berger of Congregation Beth Shalom.

Last year, Duker participated in an environmental studies exchange program between the US and Russia. "When they went to Siberia, she made a point of visiting Jewish families," Berger said. Her high-school yearbook paints a portrait of a vivacious, energetic young woman.

"A lovable chameleon who has many levels of intensity concealed beneath her seemingly quiet exterior," says the yearbook from the Frisch School in Paramus, New Jersey. "A true eccentric hides behind those purple sneakers."

Sara's sister Tammy was spending this year in Israel studying at Ben-Gurion University. The Eisenfeld family said in a statement that Matt, as class spokesman at a school ceremony after the assassination of prime minister Yitzhak Rabin, "spoke eloquently in support of the Middle East peace process."



Friends and relatives of Arik Gaby, who was killed in yesterday's bomb blast in Jerusalem, weep at the 16-year-old's funeral at Mt. Herzl. (AP)

## 'Ashkelon bomber may have worn IDF uniform'

RAINE MARCUS

ONLY 45 minutes after a terrorist blew up the No. 18 bus in Jerusalem yesterday morning, another suicide bomber detonated a similar but smaller bomb at a packed hitchhiking post outside Ashkelon.

Two people — one of them believed to be the terrorist — were killed and 34 injured in the explosion, for which Hamas took responsibility.

Police and security services believe the same group orchestrated the Jerusalem and Ashkelon bombings, which were "highly organized and well coordinated," according to security sources.

The woman soldier who died in the explosion was named last night as Sgt. Hoft Ayyash, 20, of Ashdod. Her funeral will take place today.

The explosion occurred at about 7:30, as scores of soldiers and civilians were waiting at the post, many discussing the news about the Jerusalem attack.

The terrorist, whose identity is still unknown, was reportedly wearing an IDF uniform and managed to mingle with soldiers without drawing attention to himself. The bomber had 3 kg, to 5 kg, of TNT and nails strapped to the upper part of his body.

Security forces and ambulances arrived at the junction and major roads were sealed off for several hours.

The wounded were taken to Ashkelon's Barzilai Hospital. One was dead on arrival, two were in critical condition, and seven were in serious condition suffering from head and spine injuries.

By last night seven of the lightly wounded had been sent home, while 19 remained in the hospital suffering from light to moderate wounds. Five of the seriously wounded were flown in IDF helicopters to Tel Hashomer's Sheba

Hospital, while another one was flown to Beersheba's Soroka Hospital.

"Most of those still in the hospital are suffering from cuts and injuries caused by shrapnel," said Barzilai Hospital's emergency ward head Dr. Emil Hal.

Moshe Nissimpor was at a nearby gas station when he heard the blast and rushed to the scene before police and Magen David Adom ambulances arrived.

"One soldier flew in the air from the impact," he said. "It was a shocking sight. I told other people with me to run there to help."

Nissimpor described how he evacuated two female soldiers.

"One needed a stretcher but an ambulance arrived immediately so we helped put her into the ambulance," he said. "The neck of the other soldier was nearly severed from her body. It was horrible. I found a towel and covered her head."

Eyewitness Yitzhak Zvilli said he had been near the post when the bomb went off. "I turned to my left and saw this huge fireball and then body parts," he said.

Another man said he was near the public phone booth when the bomb exploded. "The phone blew to pieces," he said.

Soldier Ya'el Pinkas described how she was waiting for a ride to her army base. "I was just about to get into a car when suddenly I heard a massive explosion," she said. "I heard screaming and a man put me into his car and took me to the hospital."

The man later sent Pinkas a bunch of flowers to Barzilai Hospital, and wished her a speedy recovery.

Police Inspector-General Asaf Hefetz arrived on the scene as the last of belongings and re-

maios were being cleared and washed away by emergency crews and street cleaners. He was greeted by some 40 angry demonstrators chanting anti-government slogans.

"We are still checking whether the terrorist was wearing an IDF uniform — the fact that one noticed him suggests he was in disguise," said Hefetz.

He emphasized that even if the closure of the territories had not been lifted yesterday, there was no certainty that the attacks would not have occurred.

"While sealing off the territories reduces the chances of attacks, it does not prevent them entirely," he said. "This is a free country, people move around freely and there is always a chance that a terrorist can cross the Green Line or the Erez checkpoint, either on foot or in a vehicle even if the territories are closed."

Deputy Defense Minister Ori Orr also arrived at the junction before proceeding to Barzilai Hospital to visit the injured.

If yesterday's attack in Jerusalem was reminiscent of the bombing of bus No. 5 on Tel Aviv's Dizengoff street in October 1994, the blast at the Ashkelon junction, surrounded by fields, was similar to that at Beit Lid.

If the bomb had exploded in a more closed area, said police, the number of dead would have been greater.

Still, in the late afternoon hours, after all carnage had been cleared away, volunteers from the Hevra Kadisha's identification unit were still scouring nearby fields for body parts and belongings.

The crowd of demonstrators dispersed after around two hours. At 6:30, around 40 people arrived at the junction and quietly lit memorial candles.

## Army launches security probe at hitchhiking post

ON LEVY

THE IDF Operations Branch is checking security arrangements at the hitchhiking post at the Ashkelon junction where yesterday's suicide attack occurred.

The investigation began yesterday and is to be completed within the coming days. Responsibility for security at the site is in the hands of the Home Front Command's Lechish District, with the assistance of the police. The IDF hopes to determine how security guards failed to notice the terrorist before he arrived

at the post. Since the Beit Lid bombing in January 1995, the IDF has stepped up security at the major army hitchhiking posts. After that attack, then prime minister and defense minister Yitzhak Rabin ordered the IDF and the police to work together to provide such security. Until the Beit Lid attack, the responsibility for this was exclusively on the IDF.

The initial decision to guard the main bus stops and hitchhiking posts used by soldiers was made several years ago, and the task is generally filled by soldiers from various units, depending on where the sites are located.

The addition of the police to the units providing security is intended to provide more time to keep an eye on anyone approaching them. The police are permitted to ask anyone they think is suspicious to identify himself, and can even arrest him.

## Mother prepares for funeral instead of wedding

"INSTEAD of getting ready for your wedding, we're getting ready for your funeral. Why? What did she do? What was her sin?" wailed Ruth Ayyash, 43, of Ashdod, whose daughter Hoft, 20, died in the Ashkelon bombing.

Hoft had left home shortly after 6 a.m. on her way to her IDF base in the South. She was on leave just prior to discharge, and was going to return some equipment and to say farewell to her army buddies.

She caught a ride to the Ashkelon junction, and was standing next to the suicide bomber at the bus stop when he triggered the blast. She was killed instantly.

Hoft, her uncle David Naveh said, was engaged and was to be married in four months. She had already picked out her wedding gown, and the couple had just signed the contract with the wed-

ding hall.

"She was a wonderful girl," Naveh said. "She was special, outgoing; everybody loved her."

He noted that because of asthma and low weight, she could have gotten an exemption from military service, but had insisted on doing her duty.

"This is a black year," Ruth Ayyash went on. "Two weeks

ago, my husband Michael lost his mother: a year ago, his father. Now, he is burying a daughter."

The Ayyash family had moved to Ashdod from Afula eight years ago, Naveh said, and Hoft had been a good friend of Leah Gabhai, of that town, who was killed by an ax-wielding terrorist. Yesterday, Moshe Gabhai called his

friend Michael Ayyash to offer condolences.

Hoft is to be buried in the military section of the Ashdod cemetery at 3 this afternoon. In addition to her parents, she is survived by two sisters, Yamit, 22, and Shahaf, 5, and a brother, Gal, 14.

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# The race to save lives

BILL HUTMAN

DROR Shotheim, a Magen David Adom paramedic who for years has been rushing to the sites of terror attacks to treat the wounded, said he can recall no scene more horrible than that on Jaffa Road.

"I got to the scene within minutes," he said. "All around me people were busy pulling out the wounded. I've been working at Magen David Adom for years, but can recall nothing like this: body parts strewn all over; head wounds, people cut in pieces. I started pulling the wounded from the bus, which was filled with smoke," he said.

Aaron Krozer, a volunteer with one of the haredi groups that search for body parts after terror bombings to bring them to proper burial, said the first thing he saw when he boarded the bus was a dead girl, still holding a sandwich in her hand, on the floor.

"I'm just afraid of what's going to happen tonight, after I fall asleep," he said. "But as I was working, all I could do was think about the job I had to do, I just blocked out the hideous sight before my eyes."

He said bodies and body parts were strewn all over the bus and its immediate area.

"We found body parts on the roof of the building over there," he said, pointing to a single-story building about 30 meters away. "A head was found on a second-floor balcony of the Ella Building," next to the blast site, he said.

Krozer said the volunteers also helped out at the Dizengoff, Ramat Gan, Beit Lid and Ramat Eschol bombings. "I never saw anything like I did yesterday," said Krozer, with blood-stained plastic gloves still on his hands about three hours after the bombing.

Several of the volunteers climbed trees near the bomb site in search of body parts. "It's not easy work," Krozer said. "But I know that what we are doing is important."



A Hevra Kadisha worker climbs atop a street sign to look for scattered remains of victims killed in the Jerusalem bus bombing yesterday. The workers scraped roads, searched in trees and under cars for body parts dispersed by the blast. (Arie Jeruzolimski)

# Boyfriend's quick reaction saved woman soldier from serious injury

JUDY SIEGEL

RON Ben-Shaul's split-second reaction to the explosion — covering his girlfriend's head with his leather jacket while he was kissing her good-bye — saved Ofira Kapach from suffering more than a small cut on her face.

Ben-Shaul, who works in a computer company in the capital's Har Hotzvim industrial zone, was on the No. 36 bus with Kapach, a 19-year-old soldier on the way to her base. The two were sitting behind the driver in the bus, whose windows were damaged from the power of the blast on the No. 18 bus.

Ben-Shaul, the right side of his face covered with blood from superficial cuts from glass fragments, ran to the back of the bus and forced it open to let the other passengers free. "We were both very lucky," said Kapach, who was brought, with her boyfriend to Shaar Zedek Hospital. "But even though we were rushed away by ambulance, we saw terrible things." Two dead were brought to the hospital by ambulance, and a third victim died on the operating table.

Some passersby, such as 20-year-old waitress Limor Bar-Navon, escaped with only scratches. Bar-Navon, who was in a taxi near the bus and escaped with just a cut on her ear, covered her face to avoid being photographed by TV cameramen who sometimes pushed their way past curtains without permission.

Hospital director-general Prof. Jonathan Halevy said that despite the timing, at an hour when staffers return from weekend leave, "a large number of doctors and nurses were in the emergency room within a minute of our being notified by Magen David Adom. An hour after the blast, patients in serious and moderate condition had been examined and rushed to scanning machines and operating rooms. Cleaning staff, used to dealing with the aftermath of mass casualties, mopped down the floors and walls of the trauma room with dis-

infectant."

Judy Guedalia, a pediatric neuropsychologist sent to ease the emotional trauma of the victims, spoke calmly and quietly to patients who had suffered light injuries. "We know from experience that the quicker they talk it out, the easier it is to deal with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). If they say how bad it could have been, and how lucky they were, they are able to take some control of their lives and are likely to be all right."

The hospital's social workers ensure that victims who are discharged quickly, as well as those who are hospitalized for longer periods, are put in contact with mental-health stations in their neighborhood to help them cope with the emotional trauma. "PTSD affects not only the victims, but also the ambulance drivers, passersby, nurses and others who deal with them. We have talks with our staff to relieve this stress," Guedalia said.

# Eerie silence

JON IMMANUEL

BOMB blasts are brief and loud, but the most shocking thing about what follows is the eerie silence, as many first-time observers have noted. Death is mute, but one expects it to scream.

Arriving at the site by chance 15 minutes after bus No. 18 exploded, nothing moved. Even the smoke curled up towards the sky like a question mark from a distance.

Police and rescue workers did their jobs, quietly and methodically separating bus and human parts, as onlookers gazed, curiosity rather than horror on their faces. They were kept away from the bus by police, who appealed to their self-interest rather than their decency. "There could be another bomb," they shouted at those who would not listen.

People seemed at a loss. When all that remains is the silence of the dead, buried under the black soot of the ashes, the emotions do not respond as one expects and one searches the scene.

The horror of the moment has to be reconstructed by examining the

meager evidence. The more horrifying the attack, the more it obscures recognizable signs of horror — bodies, shredded clothes, a child's toy, even blood.

At 7 a.m. the police spoke of 10 dead, but it was clear from the appearance of the bus which had been carbonized from the back to the front, that anyone in it would have been lucky to escape alive.

A stretcher bearing an inert shape covered with black plastic was brought out 10 minutes later and waited on the road to be carried away. The hem of an orange dress became visible. The stretcher bearers carried it back and forth. Beneath the wrapping may have been a body which 20 minutes earlier belonged to a laughing schoolgirl in the bloom of life.

As the death toll continued to rise throughout the morning, it became clear that the injuries were so bad that bodies could not be readily identified.

More people died in the blackened hulk of bus No. 18 and the vehicles next to it than in any other single suicide attack since the peace process began.

# Gruesome feeling left at site after smoke clears

HERB KEINON

JAFFA Road was reopened to traffic some four hours after the suicide attacker set off a bomb and ripped apart 23 lives.

Despite the bustle, traffic, and the Egged buses that once again plowed the same route, there remained a grotesque, mawkish feeling at the site throughout the day.

Six hours after the blast, haredim were still climbing on ladders searching trees for body parts, and crawling underneath cars with tweezers to pick up remnants of charred flesh. A few feet away, a large purple van was selling soft drinks and sandwiches to the scores of people who visited the site.

Some came to recite Psalms, others to yell curses at Shimon Peres. Some came to light memorial candles, others to spew angry venom into the microphones of foreign journalists.

It was part mortuary, part Town Square after a lynching. People gingerly stepped over thousands of glass shards that lined the sidewalk. Trucks heavy with glass panes arrived on the scene to replace the blown-out windows of nearby offices.

"Are you Jewish," a Habad hassid said as he stopped a man. "Have you put on tefillin?"

A number of border policemen on crowd-control duty stopped to put on tefillin. "Welcome King Messiah" read a sign, with a picture of the Lubavitcher rebbe, that was placed on a fence just behind them.

"People feel a need to pray now," said Zvi Cohen, explaining why he chose this particular site, at this particular time, to get people to put on tefillin. "There is added value to prayers recited from a broken heart."

Two high-school girls placed a bouquet of roses near one of a number of spots where memorial candles were burning like small, symbolic funeral pyres. Attached to the roses was a note: "Remember them all... We will never let our hearts forget evil like this." One man who lost his daughter in a Jerusalem terror attack five years ago showed a picture of his daughter to a passerby. Some people sporadically shouted "Peres Hamehades" (Peres the Engineer), others "Death to Arabs."

Six hours later, after all the bodies had been taken away, after all the body parts had been gathered, the gruesome feeling of death remained everywhere.

# Bus driver: 'I was born here; I know what this is all about'

HERB KEINON

"I've gone through a number of wars," said Binyamin Levy, 56, the driver of the Egged No. 18 bus. "This is part of our life; there's nothing we can do."

Levy, who suffered moderate injuries, was speaking from a bed in the emergency room at Hadassah-University Hospital, Mt. Scopus.

As to whether he will continue to drive a bus, Levy replied: "We can't show them we're afraid. I was born here; I know what this is all about."

Levy, a father of three, said he set out on his route at 6:20 a.m. "In general, the people who get on at the bus stops along the way are my regular passengers, people I know."

Levy said that a number of Arab workers usually get on the bus near City Hall, but that yesterday only one got on, and did not arouse any suspicion.

"When I got [to the traffic light] near the central bus station, I let another woman on, who is also a passenger of mine. I waved to a friend, and then started to move. I heard a massive explosion. First, I thought I was in an accident, that a truck had run into me. But then I realized it was an explosion."

Levy, an Egged driver for 29 years, said that after the explosion, "I was in shock, in another world. A friend of mine and someone else came and took me out through the window."

He was rushed to the hospital in an ambulance, which collided near French Hill with a bus, and Levy and another wounded man, Mahmoud Abisi, were taken the rest of the way in a private car. Levy said that when he felt the collision with the bus, "I thought it was a second bomb."

"I was waiting at the traffic light, and the bus pulled up behind me," Abisi, 40, a cabbie from Siliwan, said from the hospital bed next to Levy's. "I heard a loud explosion and felt warm air against my face, apparently the shards from the bomb. I was blown out of my seat, but managed to open the door. I asked a soldier for help, then collapsed."

"We are all human beings," Abisi said. "I was at the site, like I am every day. This is wrong, what happened is wrong. There are better things that can be done — like talking. This doesn't lead to anything, only to destruction."

# 'I kept pulling them out'

BATSHEVA TSUR

"I DON'T know where I got the strength; I just kept going back into the bus and pulling them out," said Shmuelik, a soldier who was at the scene of the attack.

"I was on the No. 25 bus, behind the 18. There were two or three other soldiers and the police did not arrive immediately so we took command of the situation," he recalled.

"It was sheer hell. People were sitting burnt black in their seats, unable to move. Their heads were tilted sideward. There was blood

everywhere and parts of flesh. I picked up people and then saw that half their bodies were missing. I felt like I couldn't touch them but something compelled me to. I pulled them out of there, again and again. God knows how I did it. "Someone asked me to stay next to him. I said: 'You are already outside and alive. You are breathing. I must get more people out of there.'"

Shmuelik, 20, was brought by a journalist at the scene, in a state of shock, to Hadassah Hospital in Ein Karem. A social worker put her arm around him. Someone prepared coffee for him. He was sobbing unrelentingly. They let him repeat his story, to verbalize the nightmare.

"Can you see this blood?" he asked, pointing to his shirt. "This is the blood of another soldier whom I dragged out of there... I still smell in smoke and blood and death."

# Hospital staffers make supreme effort to track victims, console their families

THE first ambulances began arriving at Hadassah-University Hospital in Ein Karem at about 7 a.m., with the hospital already on full alert.

"About eight or 10 ambulances pulled up one after the other. We had been warned around 6:50 to expect them," said Kobi Melulu, in charge of security outside the emergency ward.

Altogether 17 people were admitted to the hospital, eight in serious or critical condition and the other 11 with moderate wounds.

Most of the casualties were suffering from internal wounds caused by the blast and from burns. Prof. Yoel Donchin, who was on duty in the emergency ward, said. A large number also

were suffering from smoke inhalation.

At Ein Karem, the hospital also began operating a computerized information center. Social workers manned 15 lines which rang virtually non-stop as the news spread. Information was available about whether someone was hospitalized, and at what hospital.


Forms were filled out containing information about persons who might be missing — age, physical description, special identifying marks — as people called in to search for someone. The information was then checked against the list of the injured who had lost identification documents in the blast and were simply listed as "anonymous."

The mother is here, her 16-year-old son is at Shaar Zedek," one social worker said in reply to a caller.

Other social workers gathered in a hall set aside for relatives and friends of the casualties. These arrived slowly, many of them after first having anxiously searched other city hospitals. The atmosphere was tense but controlled.




Keren Simantov, said two sobbing women. "Our sister just telephoned to say she is being operated on, in serious condition."

"Please let me in. My sister-in-law is inside. The name is Kremer," said an English-speaking woman at the entrance to the emergency ward. A social worker took her aside quietly.



## THE ECONOMIC FORUM

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Right Hook

G.O.P.'s Libertarian Streak Becomes a Blur

By ROBIN TONER

**S**OMETIMES what is important about a primary season is what doesn't happen. Exhibit A: The absence of a major Presidential candidate to speak, wholeheartedly and full-throatedly, for Republicans who support abortion rights or are otherwise uncomfortable with the conservative social agenda.

Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania made an effort, quoting Barry Goldwater's libertarian credo of a Government kept "out of our pockets, off our backs and out of our bedrooms." But Mr. Specter was gone by November, out of money and stalled in the polls in the low single digits. Steve Forbes has more middle-of-the-road positions on social issues than most of his colleagues, but his emphasis has been on the flat tax.

In fact, the 1996 campaign has become another case study in the ascendancy of conservative Christians and other values-oriented conservatives in the Republican Party: people who are primarily motivated by opposition to abortion or support for prayer in the schools, laws that would make divorces more difficult to obtain, or other elements of a social and moral agenda much removed from the old hands-off libertarian strain in the party. Andrew Kohut at the Pew Center for the People and the Press calls them the moralists, and estimates that they now account for about 40 percent of the likely Republican primary vote.

This bloc is no longer an insurgency in the Republican coalition, but an integral component — all the more influential because its



The lineup at their last New Hampshire debate: Alan Keyes, Morry Taylor, Steve Forbes, Representative Robert K. Dornan, Senator Bob Dole, Senator Richard G. Lugar, Lamar Alexander and, at right, Patrick J. Buchanan.

Keith Meyers/The New York Times

New 'moralists' gain on old 'hands-off' Republicans.

members often organize so well. That is apparent in the rise of Patrick J. Buchanan and in the careful positioning of the rest of the field: the Republican coalition has been utterly transformed in the last 30 years.

With their power growing — witness Mr. Buchanan's victory in the New Hampshire primary last week — some Republicans fret that their party has broken faith with a proud tradition, one that advocated not only free markets but a people free from the social engineers of the left or the right. In his later years, the paterfamilias of conservatism himself, Mr. Goldwater, has periodically reminded his party that one can be a true-blue conservative and still support abortion rights and a lifting of the ban on gays in the military.

But the rise of the social conservatives was no accident in the Republican Party; it was a grand strategic design. For many years now, the party has focused on building an alliance between those voters, many of them disaffected Democrats, and the more traditional Republicans drawn by the party's economics, who are often far more centrist on the social issues.

To draw those social conservatives in, the Republican Party had to move right; a watershed moment came in 1980, when the Reagan forces rewrote the party's platform, and along the way jettisoned support for the

Continued on page 3

Why the Party Can't Stop Buchanan

By R. W. APPLE JR.

**W**HEN Haley Barbour, the Republican national chairman, was asked the day after the New Hampshire primary whether he could support Patrick J. Buchanan for President if Pitchfork Pat should win the party's nomination, he squirmed. Instead of answering directly, he said he had confidence in Republican voters' judgment.

He has little choice. In an age of political individualists joined only by electronic webs and shifting self-interest, neither party structures nor party chairmen amount to much. Nor, for that matter, does the party establishment whose nose Pat Buchanan so

loves to tweak, with all the gusto of a kid throwing paper clips at teachers when their backs are turned.

Once upon a time, party elders would have squashed a force as disruptive as the Buchanan campaign almost before it got started. But they could not stop Barry Goldwater's coup in 1964, and they are much weaker now.

The party establishment is bigger but more diffuse, including not only officeholders and party officials, as always, but also lobbyists and the inhabitants of conservative think tanks and money-raisers and journalist-theoreticians like Robert L. Bartley of The Wall Street Journal and Bill Kristol of The Standard. All exert an influence. But even when they work together, which they seldom do, they can exercise

Since before 1964, the establishment has been fast becoming less established.

little control over the rank-and-file without a strong candidate, and they do not have one.

Republican voters are a heterogeneous lot, skeptical like most Americans these days and not easily led.

Which is not to say that the establishment will not try.

Already, old Republican hands — sena-

tors, governors, contributors — are circling the wagons around Bob Dole. It happened in Delaware, which voted yesterday, and it is happening in Arizona, Georgia, Colorado and Texas, which will vote soon. Because the primaries are coming so fast now, Senator Dole may be helped by a good deal more by these endorsements than he was by that of Gov. Stephen Merrill in New Hampshire, where Mr. Buchanan won; organization counts for something when time for retail campaigning is short and when money for television commercials must be rationed.

But no one can be sure. The campaign of 1996, less than two months old, has already produced more than its quotient of surprises. Advertising and the money to pay for

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My Favorite Martian Is Shower Scum

By JOHN NOBLE WILFORD

**A**LONE in the universe like an only child, the human race keeps dreaming of an imaginary playmate. Someone to share the anxieties and joys of growing up. Someone to share the blame. Someone to dispel the loneliness of the sandbox in a big world.

So there came into being the once and future Martians. Once they were the little green men with death-ray weapons, enchanting and menacing. Now they are reduced in scientific imagination to putative microbes that may inhabit the planet's moist depths.

The news last week that scientists who are searching for Martian life expect to find stuff that looks more like shower scum than spooky men only underscores the passionate human conviction that there must be life somewhere on Mars. Scientists want to believe as much as everyone else.

The most spirited and persistent incarnation of extraterrestrial life has dwelled on Mars. The planet, only 35 million miles away at closest approach, has always tugged at the imagination. Its distinctive red hue has often evoked vivid images of blood and battle. From the time of the Sumerians more than 5,000 years ago, Mars has been the ominous symbol of war.

With the coming of telescopes, astronomers saw in Mars a planet most like Earth. It has four seasons, white polar caps that wax and wane, some atmosphere and a day only a little more than 24 hours long. In the 18th century, the astronomer William Herschel felt justified in concluding that the inhabitants of Mars "prob-



bly enjoy a situation in many respects similar to our own."

Even earlier, in the 17th century, the French astronomer Bernard de Fontenelle had reasoned: "The Earth swarms with inhabitants. Why then should nature, which is fruitful to an excess here, be so barren in the rest of the planets?" The idea of Martians certainly was not a radical proposition in those days.

Indeed, a century ago, the discovery of Martians seemed imminent. Astronomers and the possessed amateur Percival Lowell gazed on Mars and professed to see signs there of a canal-building civilization fallen on hard times.

Before long, belligerent Martians escaping their desiccated planet haunted literature, notably in H.G. Wells's "War of the Worlds." An eerily realistic adaptation of the novel, created for radio by Orson Welles, scared the wits out of many Americans the night before Halloween in 1938.

And even in the last few decades there have been intimations that Martian life not only exists but is the cause of life on Earth; scientists have made the far-out suggestion that life as we know it may have been brought here by asteroids that had crashed into Mars and picked up some Martian microbes.

Even when the idea of Martians seemed moribund, scientists could not resist using their newfound rocket power to send spacecraft toward the planet. Something — the unfinished work of

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Martian life, according to the television series "Outer Limits."

Movie Still Archives

# Ideas & Trends

## Yes, There Is Such a Thing As Mind Over Matter

By GEORGE JOHNSON

**E**VEN Hippocrates knew that a blow to the head can leave bruises on the mind. By studying the effects of brain injuries, he demonstrated that the mind is centered not in the heart, as some romantica believed, but right behind the eyes.

It has taken centuries and the invention of brain-scanning to show that the connection between mind and brain is a two-way street: changing the mind, oddly enough, can alter the physical substance of the brain. But for all the scientific evidence, the interaction between what we think of as the material brain and the ethereal mind remains a source of wonder.

Two recent scientific studies — one on Alzheimer's disease and another on psychotherapy's effect on the brain — have further deepened the mystery. Last week,

device called a PET scanner, found that patients who learn through a series of behavioral techniques to resist their compulsive urges actually end up altering their brains: areas that once marched in lockstep become freer to operate on their own. The therapy leaves other neurological imprints similar to those produced by drugs like Prozac.

### No Ghosts in That Machine

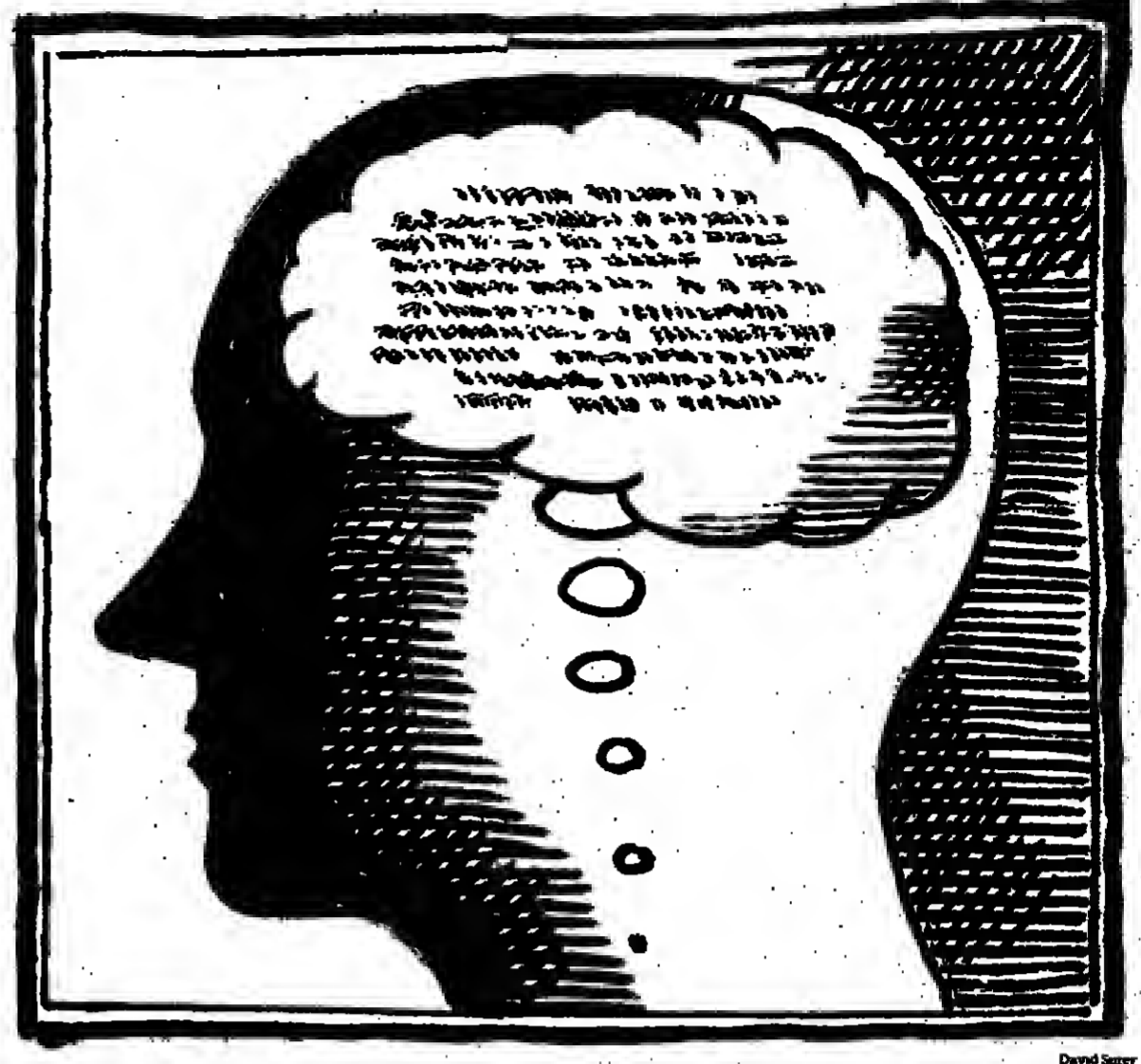
How can it be that changing the way somebody thinks alters the neural wiring? Philosophers tell us that we have trouble fathoming this effect because we so easily fall prey to the old dualist fallacy: that the brain is an incorporeal essence, the celebrated ghost in the cerebral machinery. The key to understanding is to see the mind and brain as inseparable, two ways of looking at the same thing.

Consider what happens during therapy. Sound waves from the doctor's voice send vibrations along the neurons to the brain. There's no reason why these electrochemical oscillations cannot redirect the flow of neurotransmitters the way a manufactured drug does. With the brain thus altered, different signals are sent to the patient's mouth and muscles. Behavior has been changed. The mind is what the brain does — this has become the motto of cognitive science.

But what are the consequences of this idea? If the mind can alter the brain, if people can change their neural pathways just by changing their behavior, then can they accomplish other such neural feats? Can they, for instance, fight off senile dementia by simply exercising their minds? Many scientists have long thought so, but a study of a group of elderly nuns has put a puzzling twist on this possibility.

The researchers wanted to see if nuns who had challenged their mental powers by earning college degrees and by spending their lives teaching would be less likely to get Alzheimer's than nuns who never got past high school and worked at menial tasks around the convent. They were startled to find that there was no significant difference — one group was about as likely to get the disease as the other.

But what perplexed scientists even more was that they could guess, by looking at essays the nuns had



David Saxe

### A study of the youthful writings of some elderly nuns puts a twist on theories that behavior can affect the brain's wiring.

a paper published in the Journal of the American Medical Association suggested that a person's cognitive style early in life is a good predictor of the chances of ending up with Alzheimer's disease. And in a report released earlier this month, researchers studied the effects of psychotherapy on patients with obsessive-compulsive disorders — those who, for instance, can't stop washing their hands. The scientists discovered that a technique called behavioral cognitive therapy not only helps some patients psychologically, it actually changes the physical structures of their brains.

In the psychotherapy study, scientists, using a

written more than half a century before (when they were in their 20's) which would later develop Alzheimer's disease. Their guesses were 90 percent accurate. For reasons that no one pretends to understand, the nuns whose sentences were grammatically complex and packed with ideas were less likely to get the disease than those whose prose was simple and bare.

If the finding is borne out by other studies, there are a number of possible explanations. The most depressing possibility is that Alzheimer's begins early on and gradually eats away at the mind. In this scenario the simple prose of the nuns is just a sign that the process had already begun. A second explanation is that the genetic defects that later unleash Alzheimer's might also independently impede early brain develop-

ment. That could be a hopeful development: the existence of early warning signs.

And there is another possibility. Maybe the nuns with more complex linguistic skills were better equipped to fight Alzheimer's when it descended later on because they were used to thinking hard. Whether they were teaching a class or simply working in the convent garden might not have mattered. Whatever their occupation, their inner lives were richer, their thoughts more finely embroidered. Quietly they stretched their brains and minds, scrapping off the plaques, unknotting the neurofibrillary tangles, undoing the damage before it had set in — and showing, once again, that the ghostly thing we call the mind can change the gray machine we call the brain.

### Casting 'Primary Colors'

## Let Emma Thompson Play Everyone

By BERNARD WEINRAUB

**F**ORGET the book "You'll Never Make Love in This Town Again," the recent No. 1 best-seller in Hollywood about the real-life sexual adventures of some call girls and their famous show-biz clients. The town has now shifted its attention to another book, "Primary Colors," by an anonymous but obviously informed novelist, a roman à clef about a libidinous Southern governor's quest for the Presidency, his smart, strong-willed and fiercely ambitious wife and an assortment of associates and competitors who seem very much

### Versions abound: Merchant-Ivory posh, Melrose hip and New York (Dianne Wiest).

like the cast of characters in Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign for the Presidency.

A movie is, of course, on the way. Mike Nichols, the director, beat out several competitors and paid about \$1.5 million for the film rights, according to Daily Variety. Now the question facing him is the casting for the film. This town is eager to help.

#### Cattle Call

Several executives and casting directors pointed out that Mr. Nichols can veer off in several directions: There's "The Masterpiece Theater" or Merchant-Ivory version of the Clinton Presidency; the hip, young "Melrose Place" version; the New York version (anything with Dianne Wiest), and, perhaps most interesting, the Democratic or Republican spin.

"Democrats would cast Tom Hanks or Kevin Costner as Clinton, and Emma Thompson or Glenn Close as Hillary," said Eliot Wald, who wrote the Kelsey Grammer comedy, "Down Periscope" and is a former writer for "Saturday Night Live." "Republicans would cast Tom Arnold and Roseanne as Bill and Hillary."

Marshall Brickman, the writer-director, said he was going to tell Mr. Nichols that only Meryl Streep should play Mrs. Clinton. This conviction is based solely on Ms. Streep's performance in "The River Wild," where she heroically navigated rapids. Mr. Brickman said, "We know Meryl can go through white water and come out unhurt."

Andrea King, a screenwriter and former journalist, disagreed. "Madonna!" she said. "She's the one woman who is more besieged, tougher and has had more hairstyles than Hillary. And after she finishes 'Evita,' she'll have already played a first lady." (Madonna is now filming the Andrew Lloyd Webber musical.)

In the novel, Bill Clinton is recast as Jack Stanton, who faces bimbo eruptions, draft problems, a tough wife named Susan and an array of political opponents including the indecisive and cunning Governor of New



Bill Clinton in Portland, Ore., during the 1992 campaign. Which movie stars will be chosen for a sendup of Mr. Clinton?

York named Orlando Ozio, who bears a remarkable resemblance to Mario Cuomo. "The Republicans would cast Joe Pesci, a guy who plays evil mobsters, as Ozio," said Mr. Wald. "The Democrats? Al Pacino."

#### Dumb and Dumber

By all accounts, the most sought-after and sexy role is the Gennifer Flowers part, named Cashmere McLeod. Many names are mentioned: Melanie Griffith ("Nobody plays dumb better than Melanie," said one casting director); Patrick Swayze (so attractive as a woman in "To Wong Foo..."); anyone from "Baywatch" and various actresses whose first names are Heather and Jennifer (like Aniston and Jason-Leigh).

"You need somebody who can play marvelously cheap," said Larry Gelbart, who wrote "Tootsie." He added, "There's Anna Nicole Smith, before she went to pieces. But I think Pamela Anderson should get the part. The question is whether she can talk and swim at the same time." Ms. Smith, who has been in tabloid headlines hinting at pill overdoses, is a former Playboy model. Ms. Anderson stars in "Baywatch."

Most stars enjoy playing cheap, loud, crazy foul-mouthed women, shoe-ins for an Academy Award nomination. (Three wom-

en who play prostitutes have been nominated this year.) So Ms. Streep ("She can play anything," everyone said) and Susan Sarandon (who just played a nun in "Dead Man Walking") will probably seek the part. So will Emma Thompson.

Ms. Thompson is mentioned for any number of parts, especially the upscale "Masterpiece Theater" or Merchant-Ivory version of "Primary Colors." Michael Shamberg, a producer of "Get Shorty," said this version would be unashamedly elegant — Anthony Hopkins as the President, Ms. Thompson as the First Lady or Cashmere ("She can play anything," he said), Hugh Grant as a character who resembles the Clinton adviser George Stephanopoulos except for one crucial thing (about which more later), John Malkovich as the James Carville character, fan McKellen as the Hamlet-like New York Governor. Hugh Grant and Warren Beatty are also mentioned for the Clinton role.

One question for Mr. Nichols is whether to be true to the book or to real life. Take the Stephanopoulos-like character, Henry Burton, the narrator. Henry Burton is black. Michael Fox, who is not black, seems to be a consensus candidate for the role, largely because he's short (like Mr. Stephanopoulos, who also isn't black) and played the

same part in "The American President."

Some say the protagonist's race was less important than his height. If Mr. Nichols wanted to be true to the book, they said, he should cast Will Smith or Spike Lee. Darryl DeVito was also mentioned for this role or, better yet, for the Republican version as Bill Clinton.

#### Eddie Vedder and the Snoop

But one producer insisted on Jonathan Taylor Thomas, the teen-age actor from "Home Improvement," who is wildly popular among pubescent girls, for the Stephanopoulos part. Sure, it's improbable casting, but then didn't Demi Moore recently play Hester in "The Scarlet Letter"? "I want Mike to have a hit," said Joel Schumacher, the director of "Batman Forever." "He's got to go young and hip. Jim Carrey as Clinton. Alicia Silverstone as Hillary. James Carville? Brad Pitt. Songs by Eddie Vedder and Snoop Doggy Dogg."

But Mr. Brickman offered the most interesting bit of casting. "Cast Clinton as the President," he said. "Where is Mike Ovitz now that we need him to get Clinton cast in the part?"

Mr. Brickman paused. "Actually, is Clinton right for the part?"

## Meet My Favorite Martian

Continued from page 1

Lowell, memories of science-fiction Martians — compelled them to look again for humanity's imaginary playmate. The first flights in the 1960's were disillusioning, and two Viking spacecraft in 1976 landed there and could find no unambiguous evidence for life on the surface.

The visitor from Mars today is no more than a figure of speech, reminding us of how we might appear to others with fresh eyes. We probably know enough already not to relish such an appraisal. Yet something in the only child keeps searching.

Scientists have not given up on Mars. Two small American spacecraft are to head there late this year. In the next decade or so, the United States, Europe, Russia and Japan are planning as many as 20 missions to Mars. They will be looking for water and possible microbial life, or at least fossils revealing that life once existed there — a transcendent discovery in itself. It could be that simple forms of life arose on Mars earlier than on Earth, but were

### The human race is searching for a playmate.

forced to retreat to the planet's interior for warmth and sustaining moisture where, perhaps, they still survive.

Scientists have found life flourishing on Earth, on icecaps, hot springs and deep ocean vents, under conditions presumably less hospitable than those on Mars. They have also determined that liquid water must have been abundant on Mars at the beginning and probably still is, below the surface. Which is where future robotic craft will be seeking signs of life.

Regardless of what the life-seekers find, people in the next century will almost surely travel there themselves. Someday they may colonize the planet, in effect becoming the Martians they often dream of.

If there is no Martian life, then what of the three new planets recently detected around faraway solar-type stars? At least one of them, astronomers say, could have liquid water; essential to life as it is known on Earth and presumably elsewhere. If not there, what of the planets of the hundreds of billions of stars in the 90 billion galaxies now estimated to comprise the universe? Worlds enough, perhaps, for cosmic companionship.

The Nation  
Abortion  
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Rep



# The Nation

## Abortion: the Rate Vs. the Debate

**R**EPUBLICAN voters leaving polling places in New Hampshire on Tuesday were asked which one of seven campaign issues mattered the most to them. Two-thirds of the voters responded with the economy, taxes or the deficit. But the top social issue was abortion, cited more frequently than education, trade or the environment. And of the 9 percent of New Hampshire Republicans who said that abortion was the issue that mattered the most, 60 percent voted for Patrick J. Buchanan.

On Friday, Mr. Buchanan promised he would end abortions if elected President, guaranteeing that the subject will loom large in the campaign.

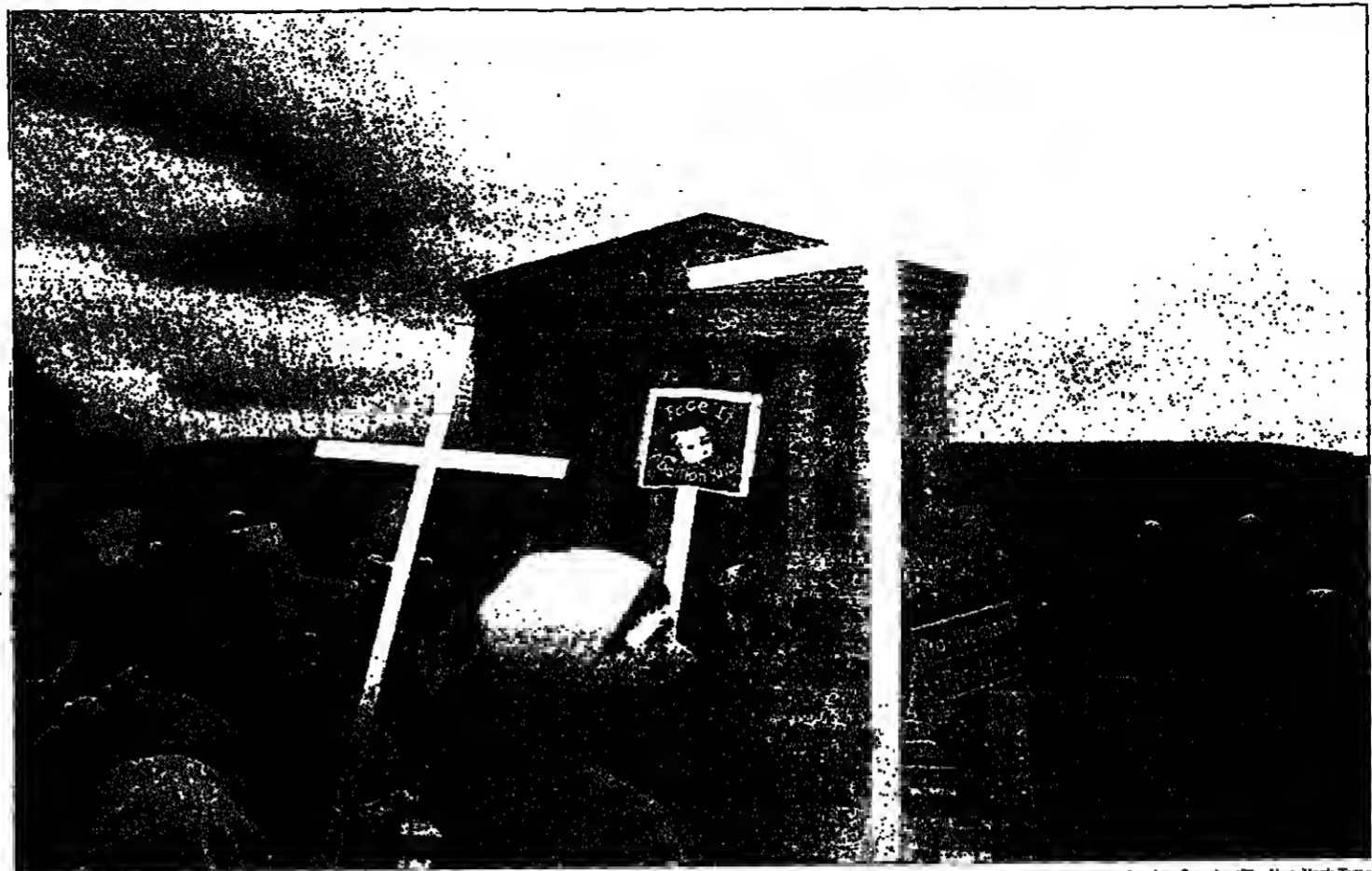
But while a woman's right to an abortion is being debated, the rate and number of abortions are falling. The rate of abortions per 100 births has fallen an average 1.5 percent a year

since 1983. Even the total number of abortions dropped a bit in the early 1990's, after holding steady for a decade.

Some of the decline can be traced to the demographic dominance of the baby boomers. The population of women in their childbearing years grew rapidly through the mid 1980's, then leveled off. AIDS has helped lower the abortion rate, because more couples are using condoms.

Escalating demonstrations by anti-abortion groups have also changed things — not attitudes on when abortion should be allowed (those have remained steady for decades), but in intimidating women who want abortions and the doctors who perform them. Now, in parts of the United States, it is not unusual to have to drive more than 100 miles to get an abortion.

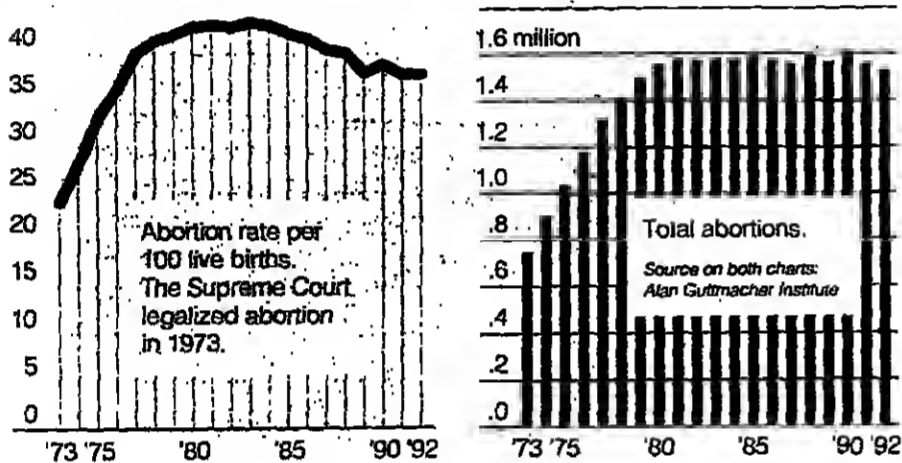
ANNE CRONIN



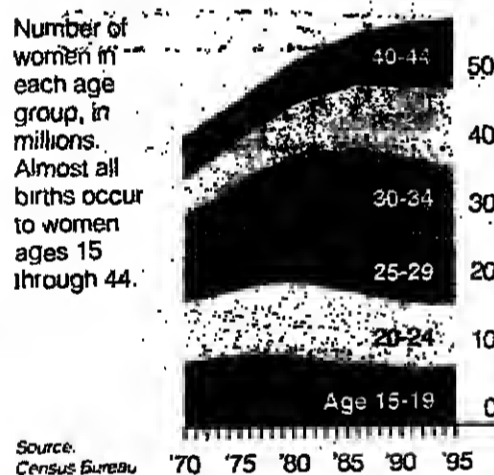
Anti-abortion protesters demonstrating in front of the Supreme Court in January 1995.

Stephen Crowley/The New York Times

### The Number of Abortions Is Ebbing...



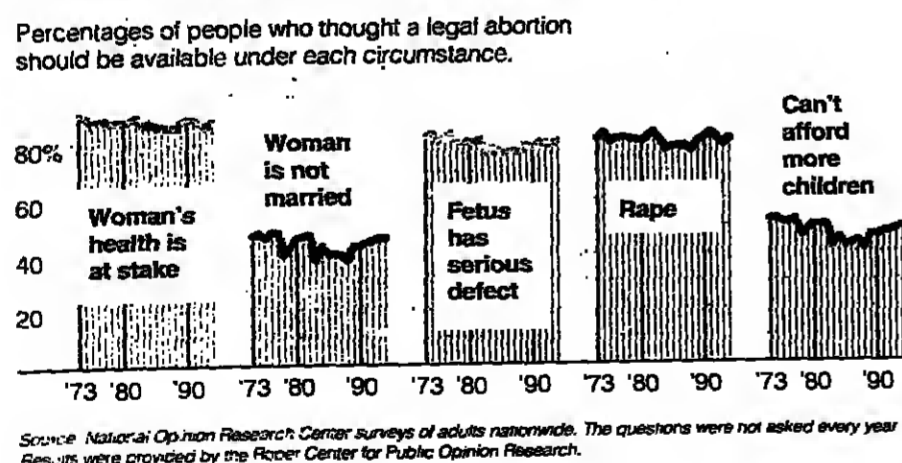
### ...As the Population Ages...



### ...And Condom Use Has Increased



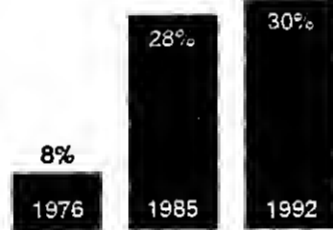
### Attitudes on Abortion Are Largely Unchanged



### It Is Harder to Get an Abortion...

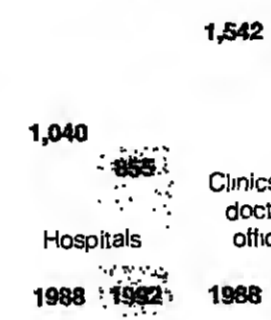
#### Fewer Doctors Are Trained...

Percentage of obstetric and gynecology residency programs in the United States that do not train doctors to perform a first-trimester abortion.



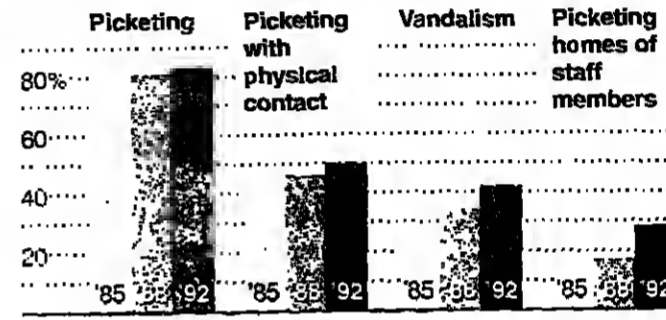
#### ...And Fewer Hospitals Perform Abortions

Total number of abortion providers nationwide.



#### Clinics Face More Threats

Percentage of all clinics and doctors' offices that performed 400 or more abortions in 1992 reporting each type of harassment.



### ...And It Sometimes Requires a Long Trip

Percentage of each state's counties that had an abortion provider in 1992, and the percentages of women that had to drive 50 miles or more to get an abortion in each area.



## Republicans' Libertarian Streak Is Now a Blur

Continued from page 1

Equal Rights Amendment and inserted an implacably anti-abortion provision that exists to this day.

Like most broad political coalitions, this one was delicate; for example, it assumed that the economic conservatives would never grow so uneasy with the party's social agenda that they would leave over it, and the social conservatives vice versa. But the Republicans managed this coalition brilliantly during the Reagan heyday, with the President's golden vision of a buoyant economy, a muscular policy abroad and a return to traditional values at home.

As Senator Olympia Snowe, a Republican moderate from Maine, said of Mr. Reagan: "He didn't drive a heavy social agenda. That wasn't front and center of what he was all about. He drove an economic agenda and an optimistic view about the potential of America."

This coalition was also artfully managed in the 1994 Congressional elections. Grover Norquist, an adviser to the House Speaker, Newt Gingrich, described that election as a triumph of the "leave us alone" alliance. "They are people who want to be left alone by government — gun owners, taxpayers, property owners, home schoolers, private schoolers." Yet as Mr. Norquist acknowledges, on some issues some social conservatives want the Government to do more than leave them

### A Senator looks back to the coalition steered by Reagan: 'He didn't drive a heavy social agenda.'

alone; they want it to promote a set of values.

Not surprisingly, these tensions came to the fore once the Republicans were actually running the Government, notably during the debate over welfare legislation. Many Republicans wanted to simply convert the welfare programs to block grants, or lump sums of money, and turn them over to the states. But the influence of the social conservatives was strong, and the net result was a host of conditions and provisos intended to accomplish an array of social ends, from reducing illegitimate births to discouraging the growth of families already on welfare.

These tensions erupted after the 1992 convention, which was dominated by the theme of "family values" and featured Mr. Buchanan's famous declaration that a "religious and cultural war" was under way in this

country. Many moderate Republicans found the convention divisive and exclusionary, and said so.

Still, Marshall Wittman, former legislative director for the Christian Coalition, and now an analyst at the Heritage Foundation, argues that there actually has been a real fusion in the past few years between the libertarian and social conservative strains in the party. "Most social conservatives are fearful of state intervention because they believe the state will enforce values they don't hold," Mr. Wittman maintained.

This happy fusion, though, is not in evidence in the Republican Presidential campaign — or perhaps it's a fusion of a different sort. Many conservatives have been horrified not by Mr. Buchanan's social positions, but because of his economics, which to economic conservatives sound like the protectionist, corporate-bashing program of a traditional Democrat.

#### Diverging on the Economy

Mr. Kohut, the pollster, says that may be no accident. There is no reason why social conservatives should not make themselves felt on economics, or have economic interests quite different from more affluent, pro-business Republicans, he suggests.

"In drawing in the social conservatives, Republicans brought onto that side of the political spectrum a

### Yes, social conservatives do have economic interests quite different from affluent, pro-business Republicans.

lot of people who worry about jobs and health insurance," he said. "They bring their economic attitudes and discontents, and linked to this is a mistrustfulness of big corporations. We used to find it with old New Deal Democrats, now it's with the moralist Republicans."

The Republican coalition, in short, looked rather volatile in the aftermath of New Hampshire. "The failure of the presidential race so far is that no candidate has been able to weave together the different strains of Republican Party belief into a package," said William Kristol, a Republican strategist. "Reagan in '80 and Gingrich in '94 were able to more or less tie the strains together into a coherent package."

Mr. Kristol says he finds himself reading a lot lately about a past master at coalition building — Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

# The World

## Neighbors Knock. Germany Makes Them Wait.

By ALAN COWELL

**F**OR centuries, Central Europe was caught between, and fought over by, outsiders like Russians and Germans. The Poles, the Czechs, the Balkan Slavs, all lived in a vacuum that one or another great power seemed always destined to fill.

But now, having broken loose from Russia's grip, the whole region finds itself curiously alone: seeking the prosperity and security that only Western Europe can offer but being told to wait.

And why? Of all reasons, Germany. Germany, this time, is skittish about any rapid expansion of Western power toward the East.

With Russia perilously unstable and the Germans hamstrung by fear of invoking the horrors of their past, it is the Central Europeans themselves who, virtually alone, are clamoring for a new protector and patron.

### This Way to Europe

"For the Czechs," said Jiri Pebe, a political analyst here, "all roads to Europe lead through Germany." What the Central Europeans want, of course, is to join the united West. They want entry to NATO and to the economic privileges of the European Union.

But they cannot do this without enthusiasm from

### Central Europe join the West? Bonn might leap at the chance. But, no.

Germany. It is the economic pillar of Europe, and it is the frontier state among the NATO allies.

So its inability to bankroll the East and its reluctance to frighten Russia by expanding NATO are among the top reasons that Central Europe has been left knocking at Western Europe's door for five years.

It is true that the reunited Germany needs a prosperous cordon of secure eastern neighbors. Without it Germany will remain the uncomfortable front line between the prosperous West and a struggling, potentially unstable East. But in the last five years, Germany has shown itself unwilling to redeem its promises of support to the Central Europeans with decisive actions. And this is what leaves them feeling so vulnerable.

"For so long we were in the middle," said Jiri Grusa, the Czech Republic's Ambassador to Germany. "Now we want to be part of Western Europe. The danger lies in a vacuum."

The dangers of ethnic fissures and economic stag-

nation in the region are being felt now in Germany itself: Romanians have organized huge criminal gangs that have blasted into German post offices and carried off the booty to the forests; the chaos in the former Yugoslavia prompted Bonn to try its own clumsy hand at diplomacy there, but this seemed to worsen the chaos. Now there are 350,000 Balkan refugees in Germany — a financial drain and the makings of an underclass of dispossessed foreigners.

So Germany is in a curious position. Fearful of rekindling memories of the Nazi era, it shies from leadership, seeing its future locked into a broader community of nations. But as Europe's wealthiest, most populous and most powerful nation, it has the most at stake in the future of Central Europe. Only by broadening the European Union can Bonn relinquish its uncomfortable position on the frontier between Western Europe's haves and Eastern Europe's have-lesses.

### A Problem of Details

The Germans have promised some support to the Central Europeans, backed by trade and investment. But they have clear favorites — Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and, to a lesser extent, Slovakia. And in any event, the idea of expanding the 15-nation European Union collides with endless questions.

How will the Central Europeans, already competing among themselves for Western Europe's favors,

achieve equality of membership with an economic grouping whose living standards are three times higher? Who will persuade Spain and Greece to share access to the Union's agricultural grants? If Germany is having difficulty meeting the criteria for a common currency, how will the Central Europeans fare?

One thing is clear: Even if Germany were disposed to spend it, money alone wouldn't provide the answer. Just consider Germany's reunification, and how even \$500 billion has not instantly repaired the social and economic ravages of Communist central planning.

NATO's expansion is even trickier. For one thing, the Central European states are burdened by ethnic and border disputes; NATO does not need any more rifts like that between Greece and Turkey, and Germany itself has yet to heal wounds with Prague that date from World War II. There are practical issues like how to convert Central European armies to Western military doctrine.

And towering over all these concerns is the relationship with Russia, where the last thing Chancellor Helmut Kohl wants to do is to undermine President Boris Yeltsin before the June elections.

The "special relationship" between Russia and NATO, Mr. Kohl said recently, would become "the core of the architecture of future European security."

That leaves the Central Europeans uneasily in the middle — hostage, as ever, to the ties that bind larger forces to the West and East.

## Why the Party Isn't Stopping Buchanan



Dole had the organization: a campaign office in Concord, N.H.

Continued from page 1

it is supposed to be as essential to politics as helium to a balloon. Yet Phil Gramm's stuffed war chest did not even get him to New Hampshire. Mr. Dole and Steve Forbes, who have plenty of money and plenty of advertising, have been stumbling, and Mr. Buchanan, short of both, has been running like a mad moose.

The Contract With America, a balanced budget, the capital gains tax cut — those were supposed to be the big issues this year, yet they were scarcely mentioned in Iowa and New Hampshire. It is as if the Presidential campaign were stuck in some electoral Bermuda triangle where no one has heard anything about the "revolution" of 1994.

Half a century ago, party bosses controlled the money. Play ball, or they cut it off. But every candidate raises his or her own money nowadays, and it comes not only from fat cats but from little cats, too. Ideologically driven candidates like Mr. Buchanan can pull in hundreds of thousands of dollars with direct mail solicitations, bypassing political action committees, and Federal matching funds make their job easier. Mr. Buchanan, furthermore, runs a miserly operation, with his sister Angela as campaign manager and himself as media strategist. In this war, he is Ho Chi Minh and Mr. Dole is William C. Westmoreland.

### Clout Is Out

Half a century ago, party bosses chose most of the delegates to the national convention in most of the states. Only a few states had Presidential primaries, and the vast majority of delegates were not bound by the wishes of the electorate. Most were the bosses' private armies, to be committed to battle at a crucial moment in return for the spoils of war, allotted after the fight for the White House had been won.

Now, though party rules vary from state to state, the vast majority of delegates are obligated to vote at least on the first ballot for the candidate who carried the delegate's state or district, as long as that candidate is still in the race. Only if a delegate runs "uncommitted" or pledged to a favorite son does this not apply, and these ploys are usually unsuccessful. None of the popular Republican governors — Bush of Texas, Voinovich of Ohio, Engler of Michigan, Whitman of New Jersey — is running as a favorite son now.

Half a century ago, most voters held tight to their party loyalties, passing them down from generation

to generation. Now the independent is king. That makes it dangerous for the regulars to attack Mr. Buchanan or ignore his issues, because the party will need his followers in November. He knows it. He said last week: "I can't bring my people back into the Republican Party if their leader is under constant attack and assault." Unless his opponents stop assailing him as an extremist, he implied, unless the party speaks to his supporters, they will stay home, vote Democratic or support a third-party candidate — perhaps Ross Perot, perhaps Mr. Buchanan himself.

### A Modest Proposal

So what can they do, the establishmentarians? Just wait and hope?

The most obvious strategy is to try to concentrate the anti-Buchanan vote, which at the moment amounts to roughly two-thirds of the total, before Mr. Buchanan gets even stronger. Hence the reciprocal and so far futile efforts by Mr. Dole and Lamar Alexander, who finished third in both Iowa and New Hampshire, to get the other to step aside. Hence also the efforts of Mr. Dole and others to talk Senator Richard G. Lugar of Indiana out of the race ("if one of us would get out," Mr. Dole explained helpfully, "the other would get more votes"). Mr. Lugar has not budged, though he will probably find his money running out soon.

If that doesn't work, the Buchanophobes in the party are saying, then a deadlocked convention is their best hope. When nobody gets the 996 votes needed for nomination on the first or second ballot, they theorize, then the great and the good will assemble in a smoke-free room, negotiate and announce that they have a compromise candidate — Colin Powell? Dick Cheney? Jack Kemp? — who is then nominated by acclamation.

### Recurring Fantasy

The deadlocked convention is a mirage on the horizon at about this time in many years' divisible by four. Remember the "seven dwarfs" of the 1992 Democratic primaries, and the hand-wringing about Paul Tsongas and Bill Clinton, the purportedly unelectable one-two finishers in New Hampshire? One of them is President now, and the odds are overwhelming that one of the eight men still seeking it is going to win the Republican nomination in the primaries this year.

If Pat Buchanan is to be stopped, in short, it will have to be Bob Dole, Lamar Alexander, Steve Forbes and company who do the stopping.

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Foreign Affairs

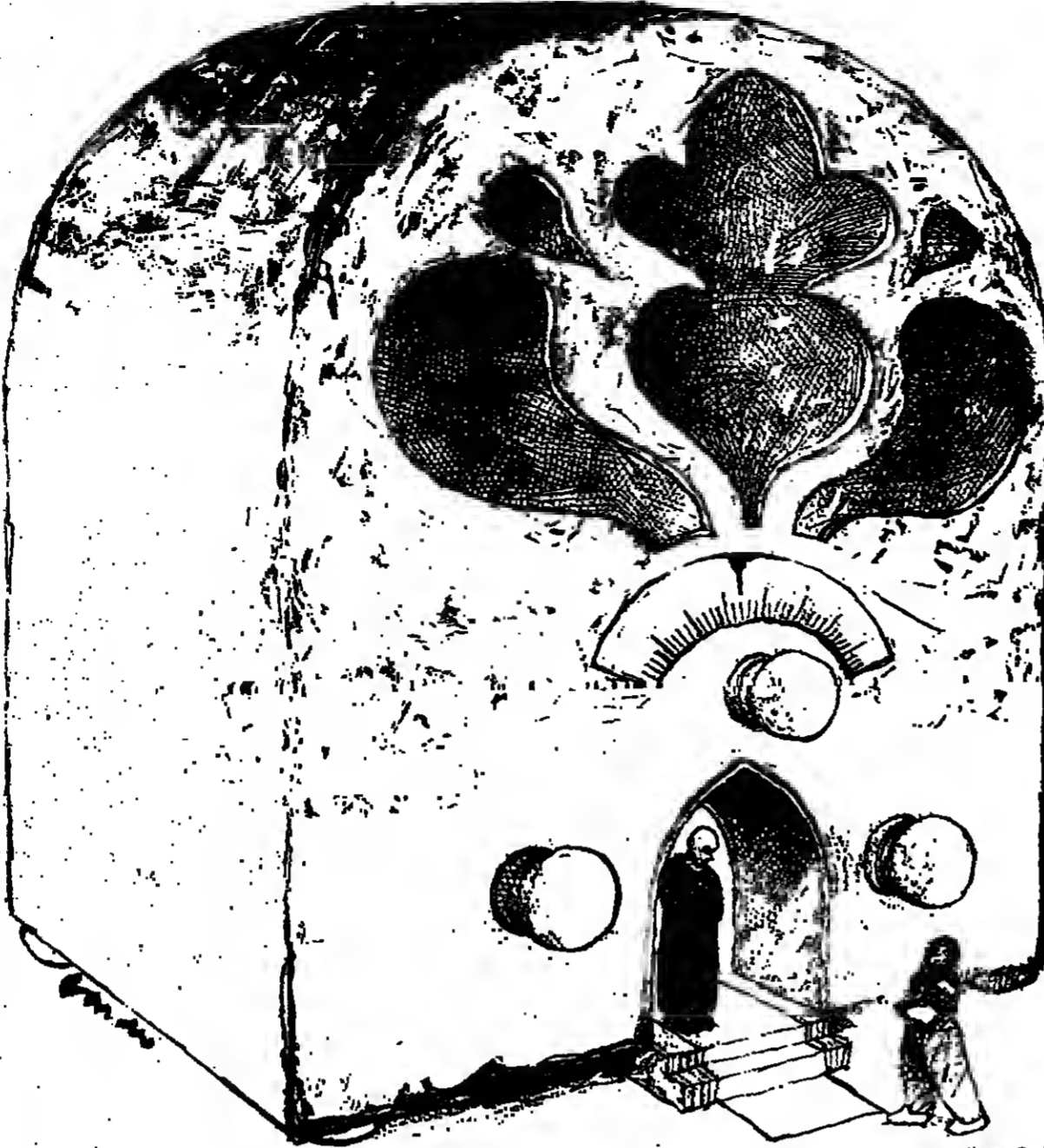
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Japan Inc. Revisited

TOKYO  
I found the source of our trade problems with Japan.  
I went shopping at the Mitsukoshi Department store, the Bloomingdale's of Tokyo, and when I walked in the front door I counted 14 sales clerks in the jewelry department alone. They bowed politely and offered to help with any purchases. The American in me, immediately said: "What a waste of labor! Who needs 14 sales clerks? This store needs 14 sales clerks? This store needs downsizing immediately!" But that is not the Japanese instinct. And that's one reason why we have a structural trade deficit with Japan.  
Let me explain: Unlike America or Western Europe, Japan long ago decided that its top priority was not to have the lowest prices for its consumers, not to have the highest dividends for its corporate shareholders, but to keep as many of its people (particularly the men) employed in decent paying jobs — preferably for a lifetime with the same firm. The Japanese understand that a job gives dignity and stability to people's lives and pays off in much greater social harmony. Just walk the streets of Tokyo: few homeless sleeping on grates, no muggers lurking in the shadows.  
But to maintain such high levels of employment, to keep 14 clerks behind one store counter, Japan basically had to fix the game. Japan had to regulate its economy in a way that would protect its domestic companies from foreign competition, by controlling access to its markets. That way Japanese companies could maintain a dual price system. They could charge high prices at home, in a protected market, in order to maintain full employment, while charging lower prices abroad in order to get into everyone else's market and export like crazy. That is why those who think that Japan's trade barriers will easily give way, or that its economy will be "deregulated" as its Prime Minister keeps promising, are fooling themselves.  
Many economists argue that in an integrated global economy, Japan will have to become more like America. Its corporations will have to cut costs and downsize to remain globally competitive. Maybe. But for now, the Japanese are resisting that. Despite five years of zero growth,

Fourteen bowing clerks.

Japan still has only 3.2 percent unemployment. The sort of job massacres that have become the norm in America — like 40,000 workers at AT&T in one chop — have been unheard of here. "I am sure that eventually we will be somewhat forced to think American, but we are moving very slowly in that direction," says Yotaro Kobayashi, the chairman of Fuji Xerox. "For social and moral reasons, we will try to avoid going all the way to a U.S. model. We will look for a middle ground."  
How? In part it will be by trying to maintain hidden trade barriers. But in part it will be by trying to maintain Japan's unique corporate values. For Japanese executives, says Glen Fukushima, vice president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Japan, "laying off employees is the last option they look for, not the first." And far from being rewarded for layoffs, corporate executives here are censured for them, by both peers and the press. The first priority of a Japanese company is its employees, then come its customers and last its shareholders — just the opposite of the U.S. corporate mentality.  
Instead of ordering massive layoffs, Japanese companies cut overtime, they freeze hiring college grads, they freeze dividends, they offer early retirement packages, they shift workers to subsidiary companies, they shift low-skilled jobs to cheaper labor markets in Asia and keep the best jobs here, they inhibit mergers and acquisitions that lead to layoffs, they buy up U.S. high-tech companies to maintain the competitive edge that their own regulated economy sometimes stifles and they even (are you ready?) order pay cuts for top executives — anything but lay off people.  
That's why Pat Buchanan is only partly right. Yes, American workers are being hurt by unfair trade barriers erected by some foreign countries, including Japan, and the U.S. should fight hard to bring those barriers down. But U.S. workers are being hurt just as much, if not more, by the skewed sense of priorities that now dominates the U.S. business community, where executives get bonuses for massaging their employees. Maybe the economists are right. The Japanese will have to become like us. But they are sure trying not to, and it's worth watching to see if they can pull it off. This is one economic war I'm rooting for Japan to win.



The Father Coughlin of 1996

By Samuel G. Freedman

At 3 o'clock every Sunday afternoon in the early 1930's, an unemployed teamster named Edward Garrett quieted his family in their Manhattan tenement. He settled into his recliner, lit a Camel and tuned his Philco radio to WCBS. Dinner would wait until after the weekly sermon by Father Charles Coughlin, the "radio priest" who gave voice to all the unspoken rage and anxiety in Edward.  
Even before the Depression had begun, the construction company that employed Mr. Garrett had gone bankrupt, the owner having poured his savings into Al Smith's failed campaign for the Presidency. The Garretts' landlord, taking pity, hired Edward as a chauffeur. But then came Black Friday and economic calamity, and as the landlord's tenants defaulted on the rent the landlord let Edward go.  
By the time Herbert Hoover was running for re-election in 1932, Edward Garrett had four children younger than 13 and no way to support them other than through his wife Lizzie's intermittent work as a domestic. The family lost even its tenement, and moved onto a patch of land outside Ossining, N.Y., where they built a rudimentary home. There were days when Edward Garrett walked 15 miles to White Plains looking for work, unable to afford the bus fare of 35 cents. But the only job he ever found was sweeping snow from the tracks of the New York Central.  
It was no wonder, then, that Edward tuned into Father Coughlin with a regularity bordering on reverence. When Father Coughlin attacked high finance and big industry, he was speaking directly to Edward's predicament. When he argued that America was suffering

Buchanan's message sounds a lot like the radio priest's.

from a "cursed famine of currency money which blights our progress and which multiplies starvation," he was conflating the Great Hunger of Edward's Irish forebears with the Great Depression of Edward's own life.  
Now, more than 60 years later, I can envision the contemporary version of Edward Garrett. Laid off from a textile mill that sent his job to the third world, he silently smolders as he watches CNN. On primary day, he votes for Patrick Buchanan.  
In the past few weeks, Mr. Buchanan has been compared to everyone from Jesse Jackson to Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. But rather than railing against Mr. Buchanan as a bigot or xenophobe or gremlin on the Republican Party's extreme right wing, it

might be better to find the lesson in his appeal to voters.  
The most instructive parallel may be Father Coughlin. Not only does Mr. Buchanan embody the Roman Catholicism and America First credo of Father Coughlin, he also, most importantly, has built his "conservatism with a heart" around "Rerum Novarum," the same papal encyclical at the core of Father Coughlin's advocacy of workers' rights.  
The document, issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891, argued that workers, as people of God, had a moral right to a living wage and to a voice in the workplace. One could hear echoes of "Rerum Novarum" in 1919, when America's Catholic bishops endorsed unemployment insurance, a minimum wage and labor laws protecting children.  
One could hear the echoes in the 1920's when Al Smith, one of labor's champions, described unchecked capitalism as "the caveman's law, the law of the sharpest tooth, the angriest brow, and the greediest maw."  
So the radio priest to whom Edward Garrett listened in the early 1930's was not the Father Coughlin we have come to remember — the anti-Semite, the enemy of Franklin D. Roosevelt. No, during the Presidential campaign of 1932, Father Coughlin articulated exactly the discontents that Roosevelt sought to address. And when the new President took office and launched the New Deal, Father Coughlin adopted such slogans as "The New Deal is Christ's Deal" and "Roosevelt or Ruin!"  
Edward Garrett voted for Franklin Roosevelt in 1932. A few years later, he found a job with the President's Works Progress Administration, building roads and doing construction. All around Ossining, he could see the W.P.A. at work: the artist painting a Hudson River scene on the post office wall, the crew rebuilding an elementary school so run-down it was called the "chicken coop," the man inspecting grave-stones to prepare a master list of Westchester County's war veterans.  
When Father Coughlin parted ways with President Roosevelt, depicting the New Deal as a Socialist threat to America and singling Jews out for the blame, Edward Garrett did not follow him. He tuned his radio to the President's fireside chats, and he and his descendants voted Democratic for the next half-century.  
Who is to say where Edward might have ended up politically had not President Roosevelt understood the distress that afflicted Coughlin's audience and answered it concretely. The Buchanan boom reflects nothing so much as the failure of both heart and intellect on the part of his Republican opponents and the incumbent President.  
How ironic it is that Mr. Buchanan speaks by default for the working-class voter. As a speech writer for President Ronald Reagan, he fit in comfortably with an Administration that broke a strike by the air traffic controllers' union and opposed legislation that would have warned workers about impending plant closings. He did not noticeably object when corporate capital — and jobs — fled from union strongholds in the Rust Belt to right-to-work states, maquiladoras within our own borders. He has insisted that raising the mini-

mum wage is not vital to improving the lot of American workers.  
But rather than pick away at Mr. Buchanan's record, we might better ask what Mr. Buchanan's Republican opponents and President Clinton can offer as an alternative to tariffs and nativism. All we have heard is the Panglossian forecast that the rising tide of global trade will lift all boats, and some lip service about retraining workers. It all brings to mind Herbert Hoover, the man Edward Garrett voted against.

Liberties

MAUREEN DOWD

George, Begone!

WASHINGTON  
I needed a break from politics. I wanted to see some explosions not caused by Pat Buchanan.  
I went to the new John Travolta movie, "Broken Arrow," about a psycho military pilot who crashes a jet into the Utah desert to steal some nuclear weapons.  
We were only a few fireballs into the plot when I saw George.  
This time, he was named Giles. Giles Prentice.  
But it was George Stephanopoulos, all right. Baby face. Snub nose. Floppy dark hair. Elfin figure. Worried look.  
Giles Prentice (played by Frank Whalley) is a deputy White House chief of staff who objects when his boss and the Pentagon brass want to cover up the crisis. When Christian Slater, playing a heroic pilot, dismisses the young White House aide as a buttoned-up wimp, Giles spurs: "Just for the record, I'm not exactly a civilian. I was a lieutenant, in the R.O.T.C. at Yale."  
Lately, I feel as if I just can't get away from George Stephanopoulos. He is not so high profile in the capital any more, although a Washington Post story last week did refer to him as "senior White House aide and teen idol." It is the President's bi-political strategist, Dick Morris, who has been making news, giving secret advice to the Dole campaign and scrapping with liberal rival Harold Ickes about the mini-bar charges on Mr. Morris's hotel room.  
But in the collective unconscious, Mr. Stephanopoulos still looms large. He has become a stock character in books and movies, a variation on Jean Arthur's girl Friday character in political movies of the 30's.  
Mr. Stephanopoulos played himself in "The War Room," with dialogue better than that of his analogues. "If you went on the radio and said Bill Clinton is the father of an illegitimate black child, you would be laughed at," he warned a troublemaker. "I guarantee this, you'll never work in Democratic politics again."  
In "The American President," he was played by Michael J. Fox, who studied Mr. Stephanopoulos over a couple of dinners and said he based his performance on George and Jimmy Cricket. Charlie Sheen plays "a George Stephanopoulos-like aide" in the upcoming "Shadow Conspiracy," about a Presidential adviser who tries to stop an assassination attempt.  
And the 35-year-old is the model for the narrator in the best-selling "Pri-





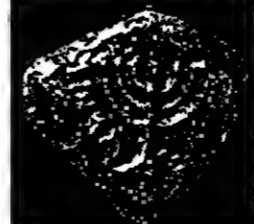
mary Colors," which Mike Nichols bought for the movies. Anonymous made the idealistic Clinton aide black, but was thinking George. The Hillary character and others "tousle" the moppet's hair.  
In "City Hall," John Cusack plays a deputy mayor from Louisiana who's a cross between Mr. Stephanopoulos and James Carville — "a bad DNA mix," as a White House friend of theirs notes. (Mr. Carville, who also has more free time now that Dick Morris has ascended, just filmed a role as a prosecutor in a new movie about Hustler publisher Larry Flynt.)  
I called Mr. Stephanopoulos to tell him I was sick of spending my spare time with him.  
"I went to 'Broken Arrow' and said, 'Look, it's me, again,'" he agreed, laughing. "I must say I've never stood up in the Situation Room and dressed down 14 generals. I just wish I had the

No escaping this guy Friday.

copyright on myself and a Swiss bank account for all the royalties."  
I asked Paul Rudnick, the screenwriter and playwright, about the proliferation of George.  
"He's the Fabian of the White House, the Jimmy Olsen, a cub or cadet or junior achiever and that makes him endearing," Mr. Rudnick said. "And no one is quite sure what his job is. He's like the First Publicist, so it's as if he's in show business. Hollywood has difficulty understanding politics in any depth so any time there's a physical aspect that's easily cast, like cuteness, they get it. It's so rare that anyone in politics seems datable. George is like the seventh cast member on 'Friends.'"  
Joe Queenan, a movie writer who has had a book on making his own \$7,000 movie, "The Unkindest Cut," does not like the trend. "You want Fred Thompson running the country. You don't want pipsqueaks like Michael J. Fox calling the shots. It's unnerving."  
He says he will be glad, movie-wise, if Pat Buchanan gets elected. "Then movies won't have Presidential aides with floppy hair. They'll have skin-heads with eye patches; played by Walken, Malkovich and Hopper." Talk about unnerving.

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Samuel G. Freedman is the author of "The Inheritance," a forthcoming book about the political evolution of three working-class families.



New-old Mideast must overcome decades of distrust

In reaching for an analogy to describe the situation in which the Middle East finds itself in the post-Cold War era, Prof. Bernard Lewis last week evoked the Tom and Jerry cartoons in which the fleeing mouse runs off the edge of a cliff but continues to nonchalantly tread air before noticing his predicament and plummeting.

being incorporated into the Middle East, most of them to the sphere of Turkish influence. "We are seeing the emergence of a Turkish world in the sense of which we used to speak of the Arab world," said Lewis. "It is one of the most interesting phenomena of the current period."

Historian Bernard Lewis says the region now has to deal with its problems itself, Abraham Rabinovich reports

Jewish history is virtually nil and The Protocols of the Elders of Zion is still a best-seller. Israel sees itself, said Lewis, as a small country surrounded by countries armed to the teeth and waiting for the opportunity to destroy it.

SUGGESTING THAT the winning of mutual trust would likely be a long process, Lewis noted differences in culture which included an Israeli focus on human rights and an Arab focus on human dignity.

noted Lewis, and the country's long existence in a state either of war or war alert. In responding to Lewis's remarks, Prof. Shlomo Avineri of the Hebrew University suggested that the source of this seemingly strange democratic bent lay in synagogue politics.

Duckweed: What the world needs now

EARTHLY CONCERNS D'VORA BEN SHAUL

DUCKWEED is a most unimpressive aquatic plant. It's nothing more than a flat green glob floating on the water, with a dangling clump of thin white hair-like roots.

As world populations burgeon, particularly in the cities, the streams of sewage water are swelling to a point where experts fear that soon conventional sewage treatment will not be able to handle the load.

As technology grows more and more expensive and energy sources become more limited it has become almost impossible to repair or upgrade existing facilities in even wealthy countries.

Experiments show that duckweed can play a vital part in purifying water to the point where it is suitable for growing crops.

The water hyacinth is even better at removing nutrients from sewage water. This plant originated in China and was introduced to the US by a returning missionary in the 19th century.

But the hardy duckweed is native to almost every part of the globe and a local strain that has adapted to the prevailing weather conditions can almost always be found.

The father of IVF reflects on his years of research

ROBERT EDWARDS is the father of five girls and the surrogate godfather to perhaps thousands of children worldwide. With his colleague Dr. Patrick Steptoe, Edwards pioneered in vitro fertilization, the "test-tube baby" technique that proved itself 17 years ago with the birth of Louise Brown.

Louise as if he's told it a thousand times, and he probably has. But when Edwards speaks about chromosomes and egg maturation, his mellow northern English drawl perks up.



Experts at the time thought the in vitro experiments of Dr. Robert Edwards (right) and Dr. Patrick Steptoe to be "Frankensteinish."

Other experts thought his ideas were crazy and his experiments Frankensteinish. "There were some who said they [Edwards and Steptoe] should have done more animal experiments," said Dr. Alan DeCherney, former president of the American Society for Reproductive Medicine.

Edwards said he had a hunch that if a human egg could mature outside the body, it would be possible to mate it with a sperm and create an embryo.

The failures were traced to a drug, a progesterone-like substance. When the dose was lowered, a woman became pregnant.

However, it was an ectopic pregnancy, in which the embryo grows outside the womb in the fallopian tube. Ectopic pregnancies must be aborted because they will not fully develop and they

endanger the mother. Despite the setback, Edwards said he was thrilled because it proved it was possible to create a "live, viable fetus."

ical meeting in the Netherlands when he got the good news. It was 13 days after Brown's mother was impregnated with one embryo. Nowadays, most women get three embryos put into their womb to boost the chances of pregnancy.

Enforcing a plea bargain

LAW REPORT ASHER FELIX LANDAU

In the Supreme Court, sitting as a Court of Criminal Appeals, before Justices Gvrieli, Misgav, Cheshin and Dalla Dorner, in the matter of Nadav Nakan, appellant, versus the State of Israel, respondent (Cr.A.6967/94).

IN 1987, Nadav Nakan and Yair Or, who were living in the US, conspired with Charles Le Gros to murder his parents-in-law for pay. The victims were shot to death in their sleep.

Justice Goldberg held the plea bargain could be disregarded if there was a meaningful disparity between the agreed and the appropriate sentence. Justice Mazza ruled the bargain should be honored unless it was based on improper considerations or harmed public welfare.

Justice Cheshin dissented from his colleague. Emphasizing that the question of sentence was always one for the court, he described the dilemma created by plea bargaining. On one hand, the punishment must fit the crime, while on the other hand some circumstances justified the prosecution's agreement to a reduction of a sentence which strict justice demanded.

A bass-baritone with the devil of a part

MICHAEL AJZENSTADT

FRANZ Grundheber is nothing if not relaxed. The German bass-baritone had only 11/2 hours until curtain time on Saturday, yet was still sipping coffee and chatting at the Israel Philharmonic guest house, and looking forward to the bath he would take before the evening's performance.

He character instead of the Wagnerian phantom, and we had problems with the critics who wanted to see Wagnerian pathos on stage. I do not believe in that. Grundheber's secret is "to make each and every one of these evil characters human on stage."

opera is about." Rather he prefers to work with directors who grasp the theatricality of the art form. He appreciates those directors who "allow me to be myself, to use my body size and height and the color of my voice. It is these directors who allow me to dig as far as I can into the character and myself."

Justice Bach delivered the first judgment of the court. Nakan's counsel, he said, asked the court to accept the last plea bargain. The state's counsel supported this request, explaining that although the 15-year sentence was justified, fairness demanded that the last plea bargain be honored.

Justice Dornier concurred with Justice Bach. She appreciated the difficulties created by plea bargaining described by Justice Cheshin, but regarded this practice as one means of combating crime. As US courts have said, "Plea bargains are important components of this country's criminal justice system. Properly administered they can benefit all concerned."

Justice Dorner concurred with Justice Bach. She appreciated the difficulties created by plea bargaining described by Justice Cheshin, but regarded this practice as one means of combating crime. As US courts have said, "Plea bargains are important components of this country's criminal justice system. Properly administered they can benefit all concerned."

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# England falls to South Africa again

**RAWALPINDI, Pakistan (Reuters)** - South Africa recorded their seventh win in eight matches over England yesterday with a crushing 78-run victory in the World Cup group B clash.

Hansie Cronje's side scored 230 from exactly 50 overs after winning the toss, then restricted their opponents to a paltry 152 from 44.3 overs in reply.

England, beaten by New Zealand in the tournament's opening match, contributed to its own demise with some patchy fielding and abject batting but Cronje's side still looked a class apart in all aspects of the game.

None of their players topped 40, but quickfire contributions from Gary Kirsten, who made 38, Jonty Rhodes, whose 37 took just 32 balls, and 34 from Darryl Cullinan ensured a useful total.

Peter Martin was the pick of the England attack with three for 33, while his fellow-seamers Dominic Cork and Darren Gough took two wickets each.

Needing to score at 4.62 runs an over, England was in trouble from the moment captain Michael Atherton was caught behind off Shaun Pollock from the fourth ball of the innings without a run on the board.

England managed just nine fours and a six in the whole of its innings and only Graham Thorpe, with a battling 46, held the South African attack up for any length of time. Off-spinning Pat Symcox was in outstanding form, claiming two for 38, while the pace trio of Pollock, Craig Matthews and Fanie de Villiers also took two wickets apiece.

The victory leaves South Africa with a 100 percent record from its three matches in the tournament and guarantees them a place in the quarter-finals.

England should join them in the last eight but in four matches so far they have beaten only the Netherlands and the United Arab Emirates, the two non-Test playing countries in group B.

Cronje would not be drawn on South Africa's Cup chances, saying: "We are just taking things match by match."

Coach Bob Woolmer added: "We played well and are playing good cricket, it is now a question of keeping this level of intensity going."

Atherton lived up to the nickname of "Captain Grumpy", earned in South Africa for his unsmiling demeanor, during the



**SHARP AS A TACK - Man-of-the-match Jonty Rhodes of South Africa hits a single off England's Neil Smith while Jack Russel looks on during yesterday's match.** (Reuters)

post-game news conference.

First, he refused a reporter's attempt to speak up, then he lost patience with the questioning of a local journalist, saying: "Would someone please remove this baf-foon."

Questioned about his side's performance with the bat, he said: "We're not batting with any flair or confidence and too many of us are out of form with the exception of Graeme Hick and Graham Thorpe."

Atherton himself now has only 31 runs in four matches in the tournament, but he played down

his lack of form, saying: "I'm not really worried."

"I've had a good run for two or three years now so you expect the odd bad trot, but we have now got a week of practice in Karachi before our next match against Pakistan."

"The practice facilities haven't been ideal so far but we are expecting them to be much better there. We have a practice match arranged for Friday and I hope we can use the time for some of us to find some confidence, which is all we need," he said.

Atherton did spring a surprise

when he said Robin Smith had not been fit to play in the match after suffering a calf injury in Peshawar during the week.

Smith has not played in the tournament so far after suffering a groin injury almost three weeks ago.

Yet on Saturday, team manager Ray Illingworth said everyone was fit for selection with the

exception of left-arm spinner Richard Illingworth, who had an upset stomach.

Atherton said it was not clear if Smith would be fit for their last group game, against Pakistan next Sunday, but the Hampshire batsman was able to jog around the outfield with no apparent discomfort on Saturday.

On the evidence of Rawalpindi, Smith was badly missed, even though he has not batted in a match since arriving on the subcontinent.

England's batsmen could not break the stranglehold imposed by South Africa's attack, which looked formidable even without fast bowler Allan Donald, who was absent with an upset stomach.

They succumbed to a mix of desperate strokes - Neil Fairbrother miscued an ill-conceived sweep shot - and school-boy running between the wickets.

Alec Stewart and Phillip DeFreitas were both run out when neither ran their bats in as they stretched for the crease.

One heartening aspect on an otherwise disappointing day for England was its comeback in the field after South Africa had made a flying start, Steve Palfreman and Gary Kirsten putting on 56 in 12 overs for the first wicket.

England's fielding was still patchy, with Dominic Cork dropping an easy chance from Palfreman early on, but Thorpe held a brilliant catch at mid-on to remove Symcox, one of Martin's three wickets.

Symcox was the pick of an impressive South African attack, and his direct hit was responsible for running out Stewart.

South Africa's next match is against Pakistan in Karachi on Thursday, a game likely to decide who tops group B to earn a quarter-final tie at the same venue.

# Manchester Utd edges closer to top

## Leeds advances to League Cup final

**LONDON (Reuters)** - Rampant Manchester United won 6-0 at bottom club Bolton on yesterday to cut the gap on Premier League leaders Newcastle to four points.

Earlier, in the day's other big match, Leeds beat First Division Birmingham 3-0 in their League Cup semifinal second leg to win 5-1 on aggregate and reach their first Wembley final for 23 years.

Brilliant skill by Ryan Giggs set up David Beckham for United's first after just five minutes and skipper Steve Bruce, with his first goal of the season, headed home a corner 10 minutes later.

Andy Cole's fine 70th minute strike followed by two goals from substitute Paul Scholes in the 76th and 79th minutes and a last-gasp effort from Nicky Butt completed the rout.

United moved on to 57 points, four behind Newcastle and five ahead of third-placed Liverpool, although United has played a game more than its two rivals.

United's visit to Newcastle on March 4 could well decide the destiny of this season's title.

For Bolton, anchored on 16 points, relegation looms ever larger, despite last week's flicker when it won 4-1 at Middlesbrough.

Leeds 3, Birmingham 0

Ghanasian Tony Yeboah scored Leeds' second goal, his 17th of the season, with an acrobatic bicycle kick in the 3-0 League Cup semifinal second leg win over First Division Birmingham.

Leeds will play Aston Villa in the final on March 24.

Yeboah's strike came just two min-

utes after South African Phil Masinga, drafted in for only his fifth start of the season, had slid in the first from close range.

Any hopes Birmingham fostered of retaining the tie died a few minutes later when Steve Claridge drove his penalty against a post.

Brian Deane headed in a cross four minutes from the end to complete Birmingham's misery and ensure Leeds its first Wembley final since their 1973 FA Cup defeat by Sunderland.

**YESTERDAY'S RESULTS:**  
Premier League  
Bolton 0, Manchester United 6  
League Cup - semifinal, second leg  
Leeds 3, Birmingham City 0  
Scottish Premier  
Aberdeen 0, Rangers 1

English Premier League		Scottish Premier	
GP	Pts	GP	Pts
Newcastle	27 19 4 4	Aberdeen	27 16 6 1
Manchester Utd	27 17 6 5	Rangers	27 16 6 1
Liverpool	27 15 7 5	Celtic	27 16 6 1
Leeds	27 13 6 5	Aberdeen	27 16 6 1
Tottenham	27 12 6 6	Hibernian	27 16 6 1
Arsenal	27 12 6 7	Rangers	27 16 6 1
Everton	27 12 7 8	Celtic	27 16 6 1
Chelsea	27 12 8 8	Aberdeen	27 16 6 1
Blackburn	27 12 10 10	Hibernian	27 16 6 1
Not. Forest	27 11 10 7	Rangers	27 16 6 1
West Ham	27 10 11 11	Celtic	27 16 6 1
Middlesbrough	27 9 7 12	Aberdeen	27 16 6 1
Sheff. Wed.	27 7 8 12	Hibernian	27 16 6 1
Sunderland	27 6 10 11	Rangers	27 16 6 1
Wimbledon	27 6 7 14	Celtic	27 16 6 1
Coventry	27 5 10 12	Aberdeen	27 16 6 1
Manchester City	27 5 7 14	Hibernian	27 16 6 1
QPR	27 4 16 22	Rangers	27 16 6 1
Bolton	27 4 4 20	Celtic	27 16 6 1

# Erlich No. 1 seed for Ashkelon tourney

## HEATHER CHAIT

**IN** the absence of Eyal Ran, playing in tournaments in Ecuador and Mexico, Israel's No. 2 tennis player, Eyal Erlich, is the leading local player in the Club Hotel Eilat Satellite which begins today in Ashkelon.

Erlich's current world ranking is 264 which makes him third seed behind Lars Jonsson (203) from Sweden and Spain's Ignacio Trujillo (234).

The satellite may well develop into a tussle between Erlich and his Davis Cup teammate, Noam Behr (296) with fifth-seeded Behr after the valuable ATP points to wrest the second slot from Erlich.

Altogether, 13 Israelis are competing in the main draw including Gilad Bloom who has emerged from his retirement from the game.

Behr's wife, Eyal's sister, Eyal, will also be competing in the qualifying rounds to the main draw while Tal Harel, Kobi Ziv and Tomer Dank received wildcard entries.

The \$25,000 satellite will be played over four weeks in Ashkelon, Haifa, Jaffa with the Masters in Tel Aviv.

Yona Yair is the circuit administrator and Danny Geley is the supervisor. Meanwhile, Anna Smashnova was beaten by Czech Petra Langrova in the first round of the qualifying rounds in Linz, Austria.

**UConn tops Villanova**

PHILADELPHIA (AP) - Ray Allen, the star who was allowed to play, scored 26 points yesterday to lead No. 3 Connecticut to a 70-59 victory over No. 4 Villanova, which played without suspended guard Kerry Kittles.

The Huskies (25-2, 15-1 Big East) were coming off a 77-65 loss to Georgetown that ended their 23-game winning streak.

Allen, Kittles and Georgetown's Allee Iverson are considered the favorites for the Big East player of year award.

Allen and backcourtmate Doron Sheffer came up big for the Huskies when the Wildcats closed to 36-34 with 16:54 left. Sheffer hit a 3-pointer, his first points of the game, to start a 9-0 run and Allen had two baskets in the stretch.

Villanova was able to pull to 47-41 and 49-43, but both times Travis Knight scored on up-ins.

**Wildcats were never closer than eight points the rest of the way as Allen and Sheffer each hit big 3-pointers and Allen and Kirk King took turns on consecutive possessions on alley-oop dunk passes.**

Rudy Johnson added 13 points for the Huskies, while Knight and Sheffer each had eight points.

**SATURDAY'S TOP 25 RESULTS:**  
G. Washington 86, No. 1 UMass 76  
No. 2 Kentucky 94, Florida 63  
No. 5 Kansas 77, Kansas State 66  
No. 8 Utah 74, Air Force 59  
No. 9 Texas Tech 75, Texas 58  
Virginia 67, No. 10 Wake Forest 49  
No. 11 Georgetown 67, No. 20 Boston Col. 64  
No. 13 Arizona 84, Oregon State 60  
No. 15 Syracuse 77, Pittsburgh 60  
Florida State 84, No. 17 N. Carolina 80  
Illinois 91, No. 18 Iowa 85  
No. 22 Iowa State 73, Missouri 74  
No. 24 Stanford 71, Washington 56  
No. 25 Wis.-Green Bay 73, Butler 66 (OT)

**SUNDAY'S EARLY RESULTS:**  
No. 3 UConn 70, No. 4 Villanova 59  
No. 6 Cincinnati 65, Tulane 63

# Rockets halt Lakers

**HOUSTON (Reuters)** - An unlikely hero came to the rescue for the injury-depleted Rockets on Saturday and helped Houston to an emotional victory over the Los Angeles Lakers.

Kenoy Smith came off the bench to score all 12 of his points in the fourth quarter as the Rockets rallied to snap the Lakers' eight-game winning streak with a 96-94 victory.

Smith, who had played just four minutes over the last five games, scored took four three-point shots - and made them all.

Hakeem Olajuwon had 29 points and 10 rebounds and Robert Horry added 18 points for Houston.

Cedric Ceballos scored 22 points and Nick Van Exel added 12 for the Lakers, who fell to 9-2 since Magic Johnson's return. Johnson played after missing the last two games but aggravated his strained right calf in the second quarter and did not return to the game.

Cavaliers 103, Nets 47

Duany Ferry scored a game-high 23 points and Chris Mills scored 18 of his 21 points in the first half as host Cleveland beat the New Jersey Nets to end its season-high five-game winning streak.

**SATURDAY'S RESULTS:**  
Indiana 104, Charlotte 98  
Cleveland 103, New Jersey 74  
Houston 96, L.A. Lakers 94  
Denver 99, Utah 90  
Seattle 104, Sacramento 90  
Golden State 86, L.A. Clippers 80

**EASTERN CONFERENCE Atlantic Division**

W	L	Pct	GB	
Orlando	40	14	2 1/2	
New York	32	20	.815	7
Miami	25	29	.483	15
New Jersey	23	30	.434	16 1/2
Washington	23	30	.434	16 1/2
Boston	18	34	.358	20 1/2
Philadelphia	10	42	.192	29

**Central Division**

W	L	Pct	GB	
Chicago	48	6	.889	
Indiana	34	20	.630	14
Cleveland	31	23	.574	17 1/2
Atlanta	29	24	.547	18 1/2
Detroit	28	25	.510	20 1/2
Charlotte	27	26	.509	20 1/2
Milwaukee	20	32	.385	27
Toronto	14	38	.269	33

**WESTERN CONFERENCE Midwest Division**

W	L	Pct	GB	
Utah	36	17	.679	
San Antonio	35	17	.673	1/2
Houston	30	22	.574	1 1/2
Denver	22	31	.415	14
Dallas	17	36	.327	16 1/2
Minnesota	16	36	.306	19 1/2
Vancouver	11	40	.216	24

**Pacific Division**

W	L	Pct	GB	
Seattle	41	12	.774	
L.A. Lakers	33	20	.620	8
Cleveland	26	28	.500	14 1/2
Golden State	26	28	.481	15 1/2
Sacramento	24	27	.471	16
Portland	25	29	.463	16 1/2
L.A. Clippers	17	38	.321	24

**SCOREBOARD**

**NFL - SATURDAY'S RESULTS:** Montreal 7, Pittsburgh 3; New Jersey 2, Washington 1; N.Y. Rangers 4, Florida 0; Dallas 3, Toronto 2; Detroit 2, Tampa Bay 0; Los Angeles 2, St. Louis 2 (OT); Boston 2, Calgary 1.

**Editor's note:** Yesterday's National Basketball League schedule was canceled.

**Cricket World Cup**

Group A					Group B					
W	L	T	Pts	Net	W	L	T	Pts	Net	
Sri Lanka	1	1	0	0	South Africa	3	3	0	3	8
India	2	2	0	0	New Zealand	3	2	1	4	4
Australia	1	1	0	2	England	4	2	2	4	4
West Indies	2	1	1	0	Pakistan	1	1	0	2	0
Kenya	2	0	2	0	Netherlands	2	0	0	0	0
Zimbabwe	2	0	2	0	UAE	3	0	3	0	0

Note: Sri Lanka's record includes 4pts awarded after Australia and West Indies forfeited their matches on Feb 17 and Feb 25 respectively.

**ENGLAND**

M.Atherton c Palfreman b Pollock	0
R.Smith b de Villiers	11
G.Kirsten c Russell b Gough	14
G.Thorpe c Palfreman b Symcox	46
A.Stewart run out	7
N.Fairbrother c Palfreman b Symcox	12
J.Flores c Rhodes b Pollock	7
O.Cork b Matthews	17
P.DeFreitas run out	22
O.Gough b Matthews	11
P.Martin not out	1
Extras (b-7, w-1)	8
Total (all out 44.3 overs)	152
Fall of wickets: 1-22 2-33 3-42 4-52 5-62 6-77 7-77 8-110 9-110	
Bowling: Pollock 6-11-62, de Villiers 7-12-27, Matthews 9-3-30-2, McLellan 6-0-17-0, Symcox 10-0-38-2, Cronje 4-0-17-0.	

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CRITIC'S CHOICE



Composer Rachel Galimne will discuss her latest work tonight in Tel Aviv. (Jacob Aviram)

CLASSICAL MUSIC

MICHAEL ATZENSTADT

THE ISRAEL Philharmonic Orchestra will premiere Rachel Galimne's Cycles next week. Tonight (8:30) at the Israel Music Institute in Tel Aviv the composer speaks about her newest opus.

FILM

ADINA HOFFMAN

\*\*\* BLUE IN THE FACE - Billed as a companion piece to last year's Smoke, this new film by Wayne Wang and Paul Auster is more of a footnote to the original. It's a breezy, campy comedy of improvised schmoose sessions, all-star cameos, and comic man-on-the-street surveys, designed to flesh out the supporting cast of the first movie and to honor, as one interviewer puts it, "the hippest of all the boroughs." Brooklyn. What results, not surprisingly, is a decidedly mixed bag: a peachy work that gets away with a great deal of silliness - even shoddiness - by dint of its gusto and playful atmosphere. On the one hand, we're treated to the amazing Lou Reed, philosophizing amazingly and straight into the camera about the perils of life in Sweden, his forgotten childhood and why he continues to smoke. On the other hand, certain sketches just never get off the ground. With Harvey Keitel, Lily Tomlin, Madonna, Roseanne, Jim Jarmusch, Michael J. Fox and others. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance suggested.)

moody, and trivial in its essence. Forest Whitaker's directing debut is the cinematic equivalent of easy-listening music. The film tells the story of four gorgeous black women looking for love in Phoenix, Arizona, and is perhaps best appreciated for its smooth veneer and over-the-top glamor. The star's cover-girl looks, silky wardrobes and postcard-perfect desert surroundings are hardly the stuff of tough realism. It's a fantasy, then, a slick, black treatment of the themes that have filled the dizzy heads of white women's pictures from How to Succeed in Business Without Really Trying to Marry a Millionaire on. Based on the bestseller by Terry McMillan, the movie features a surprisingly down-to-earth Whitney Houston and a lively Angela Bassett. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Not recommended for children.)

\*\*\* WHITE MAN'S BURDEN - Screenwriter Desmond Nakano's directing debut is set in a place that looks exactly like contemporary Southern California - with one crucial difference. Blacks represent old wealth and power, while whites have been consigned to the inner city and the underclass. According to this reversal, the luxurious mansions of Beverly Hills are occupied almost entirely by well-tailored blacks who drive sleek Rolls Royces and own corporations. The whites, meanwhile, live in broken-down, dangerous neighborhoods where gangs of skinheads rule the roost. Didactic and, well, black-and-white as this fable may sound, White Man's Burden works by means of creepy insinuation, reducing matters slightly to make its worthwhile point. What's more surprising, the film has a prickly sense of humor. John Travolta and Harry Belafonte are cast perfectly as a poor factory worker and wealthy CEO. (English dialogue, Hebrew subtitles. Parental guidance strongly advised.)

\*\*\* WAITING TO EXHALE - Pleasant,

Programming subject to change in response to yesterday's events.

TELEVISION

CHANNEL 1

6:30 News 6:45 Exercise Hour 7:00 Good Morning Israel

EDUCATIONAL TV

8:00 Revolutions in the Modern World 8:30 Reading 8:45 Natural Science 9:00 Nature in Music

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lale of a woman who is diverted in her search for her brother when she falls in love with a rock star (85 mins.) 3:05 Poem of the Day

JORDAN TV

14:00 Bonkers 14:30 Riddle Rich - cartoon 15:00 Playabout 15:15 Bush school 15:30 Bustin' Loose - comedy 16:00 Animals of the Mediterranean - documentary 16:30 Cravaggio 17:35 McHale's Navy 20:00 Invention 20:30 The Bold and the Beautiful 21:10 Russia - The Missing Years 22:00 News at Ten 22:25 Perfect Soundtracks 23:15 Taurus Rising - drama series 00:00 Eten - comedy

MIDDLE EAST TV (unconfirmed)

14:00 The 700 Club 14:55 Super 16:30 Moonlight 16:55 Heartbeat 17:20 Inspector Gadget 17:45 Superbook 18:10 Snowy River 19:10 Magnum P.I. 20:00 World News Tonight (Arabic) 20:30 CNN Headline News 21:00 The Bill Cosby Show 21:30 Diagnosis Murder 22:20 A Quest 23:10 700 Club 00:00 Special Program

DISCOVERY (8)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (9)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (10)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (11)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (12)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (13)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (14)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (15)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (16)

6:00 Open University: Management, Marketing and Economics 12:00 Human Nature 13:00 Beyond 2000 14:00 Open University 18:00 Human Nature 17:00 Beyond 2000 18:00 Open University 20:00 Balance of Nature 21:00 China, The Awakening 22:00 The New Neopagan 23:00 Balance of Nature 23:45 Open University

DISCOVERY (17)

6:00 Open University

